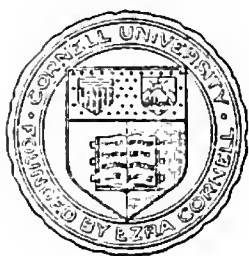


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MEMOIRS
OF
MADAME DE MOTTEVILLE
VOLUME II.

VERSAILLES EDITION

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Teniers

The Great Conde

MEMOIRS
OF
MADAME DE MOTTEVILLE
ON
ANNE OF AUSTRIA AND HER COURT.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
C.-A. SAINTE-BEUVE.

Translated by
KATHARINE PRESCOTT WORMELEY.



ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS FROM THE ORIGINAL.

IN THREE VOLUMES.
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MEMOIRS

OF

MADAME DE MOTTEVILLE.



I.

1648.

It was not in France and England only that a malignant constellation was seen to threaten the welfare of kings. Spaniards, whose fidelity has been so lauded, were to be at this conjuncture more dishonoured than Frenchmen, because they attacked by conspiracy the person and life of their king, while our nation complained only against the king's authority and that of his minister. The chiefs of the Spanish Court had resolved to marry their infanta [Maria Theresa] heiress of the kingdom, whom her father seemed to destine to the house of Austria, to the son of the King of Portugal. Being Duke of Bragança, the latter had made himself king, because he claimed a more legitimate right to the crown than that of the King of Spain; and after the disastrous days when he had beaten the forces of Spain he took possession of his kingdom easily. As the new king had relatives and friends in the Spanish Council who supported his interests, he formed with them the project of this marriage; and no doubt his party would have obtained a great advantage by thus uniting the two crowns. But the King of Spain, who expected, in making peace with France, to recover the

crown of Portugal whenever it pleased him, stopped all those who were plotting this affair.

The story as then told to our queen stated that among the negotiations of the King of Portugal (which in their main object were innocent) the conspirators were mingling a design against the life of the King of Spain. The Duke of Medina-Sidonia, of the house of Gusman, was the leader; as a relative of the Duke of Bragança he had joined the intrigue. He was, however, saved, and obtained his pardon from the King of Spain on condition that he would give the names of the other guilty men. This he did, escaping himself with nothing worse than exile.

The Duke of Híjar, being accused, was put to the question ordinary and extraordinary, but as he confessed nothing he was merely banished. His broken bones, the signs of his constancy, must have served him as a sad memory of his misfortune or his crime. The Marquis of Ayamonte was beheaded, with Don Carlos of Padilla and some others; but, on account of the war, we could not then learn all particulars. This account, which is very brief, I heard from the queen, who did me the honour to tell it to me, having heard it herself by way of Rome.

About this time the King of Spain, following his previous determination, married his niece, the daughter of his sister the empress. She was received by him with great marks of joy and tenderness, and the marriage obtained the blessings of love and fruitfulness.

A Spaniard named Galareto, on his way from Flanders, where he had served as secretary of State to Spain, remained a few days at Saint-Germain and had long conferences with the cardinal respecting the terms of peace. Possibly the minister may then have seriously desired it, in order to get money and troops free to punish those who were now

attacking him. As the hatred of the people had no other legitimate pretext for murmuring against him than the suspicion that he did not desire peace, the queen took particular pains to call attention to these interviews, saying repeatedly that she and Cardinal Mazarin desired nothing so much as this blessing, and that if the king, her brother, would only consent, peace would assuredly be made.

The king as he was walking about the park was shown to this Spaniard, who thought him well-made and very amiable. The queen, from a reserve which her minister inspired, did not receive him, although she had known him formerly when attached to the Marquis of Mirabel, the last ambassador of Spain to France. It is to be believed, nevertheless, that it would have been far better had she seen him herself instead of leaving him to see only the cardinal; for in her quality as regent, mother, and sister she was surely more fitted than any other to work for the great object of peace. But she wanted to leave the whole appearance of it to the cardinal, that he might profit by it in the eyes of the people; and as, moreover, she was persuaded that her minister was sincerely acting for the welfare of France, she thought that in an affair of such consequence she ought to follow his advice and be guided by his ideas rather than by her own. All Europe had supposed that on assuming the government she would carefully apply herself to the means of making peace, considering the affection she had shown all her life for her brother the King of Spain. But her most attached servants, who feared she might show too much warmth for his interests, turned her from thinking of them, and spoke to her frequently of the reserve she ought to have on that subject.

These lessons made a strong impression on her; and as she desired to do her duty generously, she strove to act

as if the sentiments of nature, which up to this time had made her love her family with great tenderness, had been effaced. But in seeking to go right she went so far that she no longer seemed to be the same person nor to have the same heart. The affection she felt for the king her brother was long concealed under a wise patience, which kept her wishing and awaiting favourable moments when, not clashing with her duty or wounding the love she bore to the king, she might give signs of the legitimate desires she had for peace and for the welfare of both kingdoms. But so far she had only dared form wishes to obtain it from Heaven, fearing that if she made any step towards those whom France regarded as enemies, she might deprive it of the advantages given by the glorious victories so far won over her nation.

The queen was, nevertheless, the only person fitted to judge equitably between the two monarchs. She alone could, through the noble sentiments that were in her as to the interests that touched her so nearly, make each of the princes yield some portion of his claims; and blood and nature, being governed by reason, would have given her the means to form her judgment to the advantage of both parties. The troubles that she saw fomenting in France through the actions of parliament made her justly aware that it was time to think seriously of peace; but the proposals made to this Spaniard were received so coldly that it was impossible for the queen to advance in her purpose. The King of Spain appeared to claim advantages too excessive to allow her, as a good mother and a regent truly attached to the interests of the State, ever to grant them.

The first day of October having been chosen for resuming the conference with parliament at Saint-Germain, the deputies arrived, charged with new proposals and twenty-five articles, which they made known. All were granted

except the two (which I have already noted as being refused) relating to the liberty of prisoners, and the privilege which parliament demanded of taking cognizance of all imprisonments within twenty-four hours of arrest. It was arranged that the deputies should return two days later to complete the negotiation. Cardinal Mazarin was not present at any of these conferences [parliament having exacted his exclusion], and the chancellor had been excluded by order of the queen, to keep company with the minister. He was, however, sent to this one, as being necessary to the king's service, to maintain his interests, and explain them to the princes, who could not comprehend the quibblings of parliament.

The day after this conference took place parliament gave a decree in favour of the people; intending no doubt to strengthen itself more and more by that course. This decree forbade the levying of a tax of forty sous a head laid some time previously on all forked hoofs [*pieds fourchus* — sheep and oxen] entering Paris.

On the 3d of October the deputies returned to Saint-Germain, according to the resolution already taken. The princes at once reproached them for this decree given against the king's service on the very eve of an adjustment. They told them that such a proceeding was a visible sign of their bad intentions, and showed that they had no true desire for reconciliation. To this they answered, in self-justification, that the tax had never yet been levied; that the butchers had always vigorously opposed it; that the tax-committees themselves, when reporting to the king, confessed that they had never received anything from it; and that, this being so, parliament had supposed that it might, without prejudice to the king's service, rescind it and give this relief to the people.

From that they passed to the articles of the last conference, to which they added new demands, either for the general good or for their private interests. The chief obstruction on this occasion was their first demand. They claimed that they had on their side an ordinance of Louis XI., by which that king decreed that no one should be kept in prison twenty-four hours without being sent before his natural judges. They argued strongly on this point; but finally yielded in regard to the Court people, consenting that knowledge as to them should be given to the judge within three months. They admitted that the king, for various causes that might arise, was often obliged to make prisoners on suspicion only, and that such accusations might require a long time to verify. But for men of the robe, they maintained their rights under the ordinance of Louis XI., as having more reason to fear immediate punishment than those who were included in the three-months clause; and this concerned in general all the subjects of the king.

They said no more about Chavigny, or any one else. They laboured solely and with all their power for the re-establishment of this law, knowing well that if they succeeded the prisoner must be released in three months and easily freed of the chains in which the king held him. They knew, moreover, that this demand of theirs was agreeable to all France. The love of liberty is strongly imprinted in human nature. The wisest minds who, until now, had disapproved of the actions of parliament, could not in their hearts dislike this proposition. They blamed it apparently, because it was impossible to praise it in the eyes of the world; but in point of fact they liked it, and could not help esteeming such boldness and wishing it a favourable success.

The conference having lasted till late in the evening, nothing could be decided, for the deputies were absolutely bent on obtaining what the queen was determined not to grant. The princes left them and went to fetch the cardinal in his apartments, and together they came to find the queen in the park, where she was taking a drive while awaiting the success of the long negotiation. The council was held in the queen's carriage as to what must be done. The chancellor stated the case and showed the obstinacy of the deputies in demanding the safety of prisoners by withdrawing them from the sole power of the kings, to have them tried judicially and free from the influence of favourites, which they declared to be sometimes unjust.

The queen, hearing the chancellor speak of the obstinacy of the parliament deputies, interrupted him to say that in her opinion they ought to be steadily refused in what they asked, and punished for their actions without listening to any further propositions for peace. She commanded the chancellor to give his opinion, which agreed with hers; and she concluded by saying she would rather die than allow the authority of the king her son to perish in her hands.

The cardinal, who contributed by his private advice to increase these sentiments in the queen's heart, where they were by nature imprinted, continued in this council to show that he wished for peace and desired to grant to parliament what it asked. His object was to make the public think he was ever inclined to gentleness, and that to him was owing all the leniency of the government, which, as the difference of opinion between the queen and himself proved, would be far more severe were he not her minister; and that it was he who prevented the punishment of parliament and people, which the queen showed that she passionately desired.

The Prince de Condé, conscious that he was capable of unbounded ambition, and having great designs which might rouse suspicions against him in the minds of the king and the ministers (not to speak of his interest in Chavigny), was not, as I have already said, sorry for this public safety which parliament demanded. He did not desire to go to the Bastille, like his father. He was therefore bold enough to give his opinion contrary to that of the queen; recognizing in the minister's mind that he was ready to yield the point now, and leave its execution to time — which changes all things.

The Duc d'Orléans, who by reason of his birth had less to fear and no prisoner to protect, and who had, moreover, a favourite who wished to please both queen and minister, was at first in favour of supporting the royal authority. But, as no one seemed willing to draw upon himself the public hatred and that of parliament in particular, he reverted, after having satisfied the queen's desire by an appearance of support, to a certain moderation which approached the opinion of the Prince de Condé and ended by conforming to that of the cardinal, who, apparently, preferred conciliation to war.

This change, it is true, in no wise pleased the cardinal; who desired that the princes should be as firm as the queen, in order that he himself might be the only one to show complete benignity to the people. Could that be so, the deputies would be forced to turn to him and receive from his hand the favours they desired to obtain. But every one, in a game like this, plays for himself and cares nothing for his companions, nor yet for the State. The queen alone really acted for the good of the kingdom, but gained no glory by it. As she never appeared to act for herself, what she said was not received by the princes, the parliament, or

*Copy of the original letter
of the 14th September 1644
of Louis de Bourbon
to his father, Henri de Bourbon,
Prince de Condé.*

(FAC-SIMILE LETTER.)

LOUIS DE BOURBON (THE GREAT CONDÉ) TO HIS FATHER, HENRI DE BOURBON,
PRINCE DE CONDÉ.

Monsieur, Votre très humble et très obéissant fils et serviteur,
LOUIS DE BOURBON.

À PHILIPPSBOURG, ce 14 Septembre, 1644.

the people with the respect which was due to her quality as regent and to her good intentions, — for the reason that every one was convinced she followed in reality and nearly always the advice of the cardinal.

The minister had strong reasons which obliged him not to break completely with the deputies. Our armies, at this season, were still necessary on the frontier; and he had no money to spend on the punishment of Paris, which from its grandeur was difficult to chastise. He believed, with reason, that chastisement could not be attempted without fear of a general rebellion throughout the kingdom, which had already breathed in various directions the contagious air that reigned in the capital. By letting matters languish along he merely hoped to win some advantage, as regarded parliament, by seeming to be the one who contributed most to conciliation and to granting it the privileges it demanded; but, in spite of his wiles, he was compelled to share with the princes the shameful credit of concession.

The queen, the princes, and the minister parted in the wide open space which separates the two palaces [of Saint-Germain]. The princes returned to meet the deputies in the new palace, which the Duc d'Orléans occupied, and the cardinal went to his apartments. The latter was followed, as usual, by a large number of courtiers, who, ill-treated though he was by parliament and people, did not abandon him, because he was still the master of their fate.

The princes told the deputies that so far they had won nothing from the queen; but they promised to make further efforts to conquer her firmness. With this hope, they begged them to return on the morrow, assuring them that by that time they would doubtless be able to settle the matter. This day seemed to be fatal to the State, inasmuch as it was now a question of making a dangerous war, or a

very shameful peace, in which the first of the European kings beheld himself constrained to obey his subjects and to grant them, against his will, all that it pleased them to demand of him.

The queen, having returned from her drive, which no doubt was little enjoyment to her, came to the circle and seated herself, and I saw in her face and in her eyes that matters were not going to her liking. Shortly after, the princes arrived, which made her leave the circle for the council. Before entering it, she drew the Maréchal de Villeroy to a window, to make him listen to her troubles.

She did not complain of the cardinal, though his opinion was given against hers; she perfectly understood that he could not do otherwise and was forced to appear to wish for peace in order to avoid the hatred of parliament, of which he already had too much. Her resentment was against the princes who abandoned her on this occasion; and I heard her say to the maréchal: "Truly, if I consented to such demands, and allowed the king's authority to be reduced to such a point, my son would become a fine king of cards! I must not be urged, for I will never consent."

I do not know what the king's governor replied; but after these words she went into her cabinet, where the council was held. Before it began, and before we left the room I noticed that the Prince de Condé approached the queen to speak to her on behalf of parliament. He said, as far as I could understand, that the time for punishment was passed; that it ought to have been applied at the first signs of disobedience. To which the queen with much emotion answered: "*Eh bien*, monsieur, we will say no more of that; it was a blunder; but we will not make another which would be worse."

When we saw this trouble among the chief personages of

the State we retired to let them decide among them the fate of France. It was then that a harsh contention began between them. The queen was alone in her opinion, which she sustained courageously. They all abandoned her, except the chancellor, who had a secret order not to change his sentiments ; and all endeavoured to batter into ruins her firmness and her resolution while she withstood their efforts with a strength which would have been invincible had she not in the end been badly advised. She spared neither Monsieur nor the prince ; she attacked the cardinal, perhaps not believing that she hurt him much. She said to him before the others unwonted severities, blamed him for his softness, and prophesied that all his kindness would be useless.

The doors of the cabinet opened before the usual time. The cardinal, who was accustomed to remain with the queen after the council ended, came out first, and from the look on his face he seemed to be in an ill-humour. The Prince de Condé followed, but the Duc d'Orléans stayed with the queen to try to soften her pain and resentment. The Abbé de La Rivière was called in by his master, to make a third in the conversation, in which the queen's heart alone was full of bitterness and sorrow. Half an hour later the Duc d'Orléans returned home quite pensive, though in point of fact he was not in the least distressed. His favourite did his part as if the matter in question touched him keenly. He was, however, well satisfied, believing in his soul that this humbling of the minister would serve his own elevation.

The Prince de Condé returned a moment later to see the queen. He made, obligingly, two trips to her, to induce her to see the cardinal's innocence, and restore him to her goodwill. We then saw, by all these actions, that some new dis-

turbance had arisen in the cabinet, and that matters were apparently not going well. As for me, I was not long uncertain; for the queen, shortly after, being alone and about to enter her oratory to pray to God, I asked her the cause of all I had seen; and, pitying her distress, I entreated her to tell me what the cardinal said about it. She did me the honour to reply, in a tone as if she were a little angry with him, "Let him say what he likes; I shall not change my resolution." "And what is your resolution, madame?" I asked. "It is," she replied, "to do the contrary of what he wants me to do." Then with a smile to me she added: "You can well imagine he is not so unreasonable as to really wish for that which would be ruin to the king. He cannot do any better; but all the same I am angry with him because he is too kind."

These words made me at once comprehend the whole story and unravel the causes which had produced this little struggle. I quickly perceived that the fuss had been made expressly to try to bring the princes to support the royal authority in order to make manifest the cardinal's gentleness, and to diminish the credit which the Duc d'Orléans and the Prince de Condé would otherwise win from parliament.

The next day I said to one of my friends (M. de Seneterre), who was in the secret, that I had guessed the whole of the fine comedy which had been played the day before. He gave a great cry, and said: "Ah, madame! be careful not to seem to know such things. At the present moment, that is the greatest secret of the sanctuary."

After I had reassured his fears I told him that my light came from a sure source, and asking questions on what I thought I knew as well as he did, he owned that all parties were hoodwinking the others and that the queen alone was

acting in good faith. For though she thought she was playing a comedy in behalf of her minister, to screen him from public hatred on account of this refusal, it was nevertheless true that she had no desire to grant the demands of parliament, and that the cardinal had not deceived her, having told her that by standing firm against the princes, she might perhaps bring them back to her opinion, which he very much desired. Consequently, he considered that her resistance could not fail to be advantageous to him. It would make his own mildness the more apparent in case the queen was able to maintain herself against parliament and princes. And, if he were compelled to change the queen's sentiments, he would still make manifest his gentleness and his power combined.

This gentleman told me that he did not believe the cardinal could easily bring himself to advise the queen to change the resolutions she had already taken (though he had made a show to the princes of trying to persuade her to do so), because he saw she was anxious over the affair and regarded the claims of parliament as the extinction of the royal authority. But finally, results having astonished him, he was obliged to do so. He saw the princes favouring parliament in spite of the protection they had promised to the king's interests and to his. He lacked both money and power to do better, and perhaps, also, he was mistaken in the judgment he made of the royal power and strength.

During the time the queen held firm the cardinal resolved to wring from parliament the best compromise he could; and when all his measures were taken he made her change. On the evening of that day, before she went to bed, the cardinal's secretary, Hugues de Lyonne, came twice to see her and held long conferences with her on behalf of his master. The next day, on leaving mass, Le Tellier, secretary of State,

also came to her, and finally brought her to grant to the deputies all they desired, on condition that instead of the three months they asked on behalf of prisoners, as the time in which they must be brought before their judges, six were to pass before the king was obliged to send them there.

Affairs being in this state a council was held before the arrival of the deputies, at which it was agreed that a declaration should be drawn up, in which the queen should state, for the relief of her conscience, or rather the repair of her credit and honour, that it was at the entreaty of the princes and under the present necessity of the State that she had resolved to grant to parliament the things demanded. This declaration the queen signed with incredible grief, and the feelings of a queen who truly loved her children and the State. She let herself be guided, against her will, by the advice of her minister, who gave it against his will. Many persons then believed that the cardinal, who was not loved in spite of being well-served, was deceived, — partly by himself, in fearing the princes too much, but chiefly by persons who told him that the queen's firmness was making him detested, and that a decree was about to be issued against him.

In consequence of this resolution, the deputies, on arriving at Saint-Germain, found their affairs settled for them, and that nothing more difficult remained to do than to thank the queen and princes ; after which they departed, full of presumption, to impart their victory to their colleagues. Parliament then did as usual, that is to say, assembled ; and it was voted to send deputies to the chief-president to examine all the articles to which the Court had agreed and those that parliament still demanded, in order to draw up themselves the declaration they wished the king to make to them. But malignity was then so abounding in the minds of all that

some counsellors advised, for the purpose of continuing to assemble, that it was best to leave the king to send them what declaration he pleased and then deliberate over each article.

For some days after this assassination of the royal authority the queen was sad; but the Duc d'Orléans and the Prince de Condé were in a state of extreme satisfaction. They considered themselves masters of the State, the Court, the nobility, the parliament, and the people; they let themselves be flattered by the pains taken by the various supreme courts and private individuals to obtain their favour. Men of the world are naturally fond of intrigue and of pleasing great personages. All those who approached the princes never ceased to talk to them of their power, and of the changes that might take place in the kingdom which would give them a power still greater. They were not as yet possessed by sentiments prejudicial to the service of the king and queen, and they had no intention of abandoning them; but they did, nevertheless, do them harm by the compliance they now showed to the last assumptions of parliament. The complacency which all this admiration of their power and the fine ideas that flattered them excited in their hearts was dangerous to the State; and the courtiers increased the danger by continual adulation.

The Prince de Condé had returned from the army with very upright intentions; the great services he rendered to the queen at that crisis were strong proofs of it. But he had in his own family persons whose minds were contaminated¹ who now set to work to corrupt him. It is difficult to maintain interests that are opposed to one another. His present change withered the beauty of his sentiments, but did not destroy them altogether. I know that, when the

¹ The allusion here is to his sister, the Duchesse de Longueville. — Tr.

queen complained to him that he abandoned her, he made her fresh protestations of fidelity, which, however, did not prevent her from continuing for some time displeased with him.

She dared not think him sincere when he promised to be faithful to her. I know, through Chancellor Séguier himself, that the Duc de Longueville did all he could to turn his brother-in-law from the attachment he had always shown to the interests and desires of the queen by opposing the demands of parliament, and had him warned by a friend that he was ruining the State and his own personal fortunes by that course. His answer was that he knew very well what he was doing, and was resolved, on all occasions when he found his duty and the will of his superiors in harmony, to follow his present course as the best and safest.

The minister, in granting to parliament all its demands, was compelled to set Chavigny at liberty at the end of six months. This being so, he thought it better to let him out of prison at once. But all these great favours granted to the reformers of the State brought no repose whatever to the queen. Daily their demands increased, and were now no longer what they were at the first conferences. On the 12th of October the populace, excited by pernicious spirits seeking to share in the government, assembled tumultuously at the Palais de Justice in relation to a certain tax imposed on tavern-keepers, which caused a quarrel between them and the wine-merchants. The provost of merchants, endeavouring to separate them, nearly lost his life. They flung themselves upon him and broke his carriage to pieces, and this *canaille* came near doing the same to himself.

This news was reported to the queen, who, after asking the advice of the princes as to what she had better do, sent, during the night, a *lettre de cachet* to parliament, ordering it, in

the king's name, to come before him. That evening, as I left the queen, wishing her relief from anxiety and pitying her for her troubles, she replied: "Pity me rather because I have not been able to avenge the king as I have always desired to do. If I could have done so they would not now be in a position to do me harm, nor should I be in one that needs pity."

All these disturbances caused fresh anxiety to the queen and her minister, who saw plainly that parliament was not acting alone, but that many ambitious persons must be moving the machinery; among whom were justly suspected the coadjutor of Paris [afterwards Cardinal de Retz] and the special enemies of the minister, such as Châteauneuf and Chavigny, who wanted both his place and his ruin. The part they took in these events must have been great, since ambition and revenge — two great motives which nearly always give birth in the heart of man to injustice and crime — were the source of it. To them we must add the malcontents, of whom the house of Vendôme and its friends made a large proportion. There were still some unfortunates left of the routed "Importants," and this troop also was numerous.

On the 24th of October the chief-president brought to the queen on behalf of parliament the declaration drawn up by themselves, in which all their demands were fully explained, and whereby it was easy to see that they were more insatiable than wise senators should be whose duty it is to moderate the excesses of others. Council was held thereupon, and as it was plain that peace must be accepted on this occasion in order to avoid war, the different sentiments gave rise to many disputes and arguments in the cabinet.

The queen urged the princes to assist her and to keep the promise they had made to her at the last conference to chas-

tise the rebels if they were not content with the favours she had then done them. She represented that the demands of parliament now made upon her ought to compel them to hesitate no longer, but to renounce peace and follow her sentiments. They answered that they would never separate from her interests, but that the matter now was threatening to the State. The cardinal continued to play his usual part—that of making the queen seem harsh, while he himself took the gentler path.

The Maréchal de La Meilleraie, who, according to appearances, would certainly speak in harmony with the minister's views, was of opinion that all the demands of parliament should be granted in order to be done with it and with the ground of all its disputations. He strongly represented the pitiable state of France, the king's necessities, the general revolt of the people, their insolence, and the little affection noticeable in the hearts of Parisians towards the king and queen. He did not forget to dwell on the audacity of parliament and that which such an example inspired in all the other supreme courts of the kingdom; on the foreign war and on the intestine war which would have to be fought against rebellious subjects, who would perhaps follow the bad example of England. He concluded by saying that it was absolutely necessary to make peace on whatever terms it pleased parliament; and his opinion was followed by that of all the others.

A person who was then in the most secret counsels told me that if the princes had shown more firmness in the queen's interests, the campaign being then nearly over, the minister would gladly have undertaken to punish Paris; but as it was, he supported the advice for peace because he did not venture to risk anything on the little protection he could hope for from them.

Peace being thus resolved, the declaration was signed and sealed and sent to parliament. That assembly did the king the favour to receive it, and also to obey the queen, who now ordered them, for the hundredth time, not to reassemble. One of my friends [M. de Tellier], on leaving this council, told me, laughing, that he should be very sorry if parliament demanded his head, because it would surely be cut off and given to them without discussion, promptly. The Duc d'Orléans and the Prince de Condé, seeking to acquire the goodwill of parliament, rivalled each other in doing all that was possible to please it. And the minister, not daring to maintain the royal authority against all these powers, allowed it to be wholly beaten down; and, thinking only to gain time and preserve his office and person, he hoped to keep himself out of danger by granting whatever was asked of him — which he might not perhaps have been able to refuse in view of the wretched state of things.

The conclusion of this peace set Chavigny at liberty, which was one of the principal articles secretly granted. He was ordered to go to one of his houses; which he did with great joy, acknowledging to his friends that he had suffered extremely from the deprivation of his liberty. He told them he could never have believed that a prison could do such harm unless he had felt it; and that experience had made him know that it was one of the most intolerable evils that could happen to men in the whole course of their lives. As he had always had a certain piety (he was even a trifle Jansenist), I do not doubt that, having contributed under the reign of the late Cardinal Richelieu to making many persons unhappy in this way, he saw his sin and humbled himself before God. I believe that he made this wise reflection because it was just and reasonable to make it.

The day on which the peace was granted and received, the

queen did me the honour to tell me that she wished never to hear mention of the matter again, as the remembrance would be eternally grievous to her. She owned to me that it gave her pain to see any of those who had contributed to this compromise. Her minister was the first cause of her sorrows, in not having stopped the course of the evil at its beginning. She saw this, but, not wishing to allow of its discussion, she added that the cardinal, who seemed to be of the number, was not blamable like the rest, because he had been of their opinion more through policy than from inclination; and that she found her quality of queen had been of little use to him, inasmuch as she was not the mistress.

This trouble being appeased, Discord flung another apple into the cabinet and stirred up a little war which seemed likely to cause a greater.

On the eve of the feast of All Saints the queen started from Saint-Germain to return to Paris to enjoy the repose for which this last declaration seemed to warrant her in hoping. Before leaving she went to pay a visit to the Duchess d'Orléans, who had just been delivered of a daughter. This princess hated Monsieur's favourite, the Abbé de La Rivière, but for several reasons she chose to take his part openly. So much so that when the queen came to see her she showed that she resented strongly the affront that Monsieur felt had been done to him [in the queen and cardinal having yielded to the desire of the Prince de Condé to obtain for his brother the Prince de Conti, the cardinal's hat which they had already promised the Duc d'Orléans should be bestowed by the pope on the Abbé de La Rivière]. Madame had said openly, a few hours before the queen came to see her, that until now they had only scratched Monsieur, who did not choose to feel it; but in this affair he had received a great sword-thrust through the body and was forced to complain.

She was much opposed to the whole Condé family, from the sort of emulation which is always to be met with among persons of her birth. She liked the queen but little, and the cardinal still less on account of the interests of her brother, the Duc de Lorraine, whom she ardently desired to see restored to his States. She imagined that if Monsieur would only take more authority in the kingdom, it would be easy for him to raise the Duc de Lorraine from the abyss into which he had fallen. The help that Monsieur had formerly received from her brother during his exile at Nancy had drawn upon him the anger of the late king ; and that anger had caused him to lose his States and his happiness, and for that reason she believed that Monsieur was bound to protect him. It therefore seemed to her that by supporting her husband's favourite against the queen's minister she should put him on her side and make him serve her legitimate passion for her brother's interests ; obliging him, by sustaining his interests, to support hers in return.

Consequently, the queen's visit passed coldly, and ended without the Duc d'Orléans, who was in the room, approaching to speak to her. This was much disapproved by the persons most interested ; for men, in general, cannot pay too much civility to women, and the duke in particular owed much to the queen, who, for grandeur, had no equal upon earth. But Monsieur, being in Madame's chamber in presence of the queen, talked the whole time to Mademoiselle, his daughter, who for a thousand other reasons was, like her step-mother, in a state of extreme satisfaction at her father's anger. She also had no real good-will to the Abbé de La Rivière, but she desired to stir up Monsieur, not only to revenge himself on the queen (who had somewhat tormented her in the matter of the archduke), but, ambitious as she was, to support another grand interest of her own which

Monsieur did not sufficiently further. She would therefore have found it very convenient if his favourite should inspire him with stronger thoughts on the subject; and on this occasion she neglected nothing to induce the abbé to do so. She was eleven years older than the king, but, in spite of that difference of age, she did not think it unreasonable to desire him for her husband. She had beauty, intelligence, wealth, virtue, and royal birth. She believed that all these qualities combined deserved that honour. Her beauty, however, was not without defects; and her mind was not always in a condition to please. Her vivacity deprived her action of the dignity which is necessary to persons of her rank; and her soul was too readily carried away by her feelings. Sometimes this very temperament took from her complexion a little of its perfection and gave it flushes; but as she was fair, with beautiful eyes and a beautiful mouth, and her figure was fine and rounded, she had certainly all the air of great beauty.

Cardinal Mazarin also went to take leave of Madame, whose confinement would keep her some time longer at Saint-Germain; and her apartment opening from that of the Duc d'Orléans, he was received very coldly by that prince, who told him, speaking of the affair of the cardinal's health, promised to the Abbé de La Rivière and given to the Prince de Conti, that he was not willing to submit to such an affront. That was the term he used to express his resentment, and it was cause enough why the minister did not return to Paris to enjoy without the dread of new disquietudes a peace he had so dearly bought. On that same day the king and queen, the Prince de Condé, and the whole Court returned to the famous city, where, in accordance with the usual fickleness of a populace, the queen was received with every sign of extreme rejoicing.

The Prince de Condé was delighted to think that this little quarrel would drive the Duc d'Orléans from Court, and that he himself would thus remain master of the cabinet. To reach his ends he worked with all his strength to destroy his competitor in the mind of the queen. He made her feel the duke's reproaches in all their ugliness, often assuring her that he himself would protect her against such imaginary woes. He told her, laughing, that Monsieur's anger had never, so far, produced any great harm, and therefore she might sleep in peace, having nothing to fear.

November 4th, the Duc d'Orléans went to see Madame, at Saint-Germain, and on that day a comedy was given at the Palais-Royal to prove to the duke that his displeasure and his absence caused the queen no anxiety. But only those of the Prince de Condé's cabal and the ordinary courtiers took part in the entertainment. The rest, wishing to show their partiality to the Duc d'Orléans, did not attend it. He returned the next day and appeared at the council with a face full of discontent. But, besides the fact that his resentment seemed based on too small a matter, it was well-known that he often threatened without doing harm; and every one knew him to be so lazy that it was almost impossible to fear him.

The Abbé de La Rivière said publicly that he was grieved at what was happening; that it was not right that the queen and Monsieur should be on bad terms about his private interests; that his master was resenting the outrage done to himself; but as for him, he asked nothing. His extreme ambition, which led him to care only for the hat, had caused him to refuse the archbishopric of Reims and a sum of money that was offered to him; but he now saw plainly that the quarrel could not remain in its present state; either it must go to extremes or be turned into the path of compromise.

Among those who had offered themselves to the Duc d'Orléans were the Duc de Mercœur and the Duc de Beaufort; in making him their compliments they expressed the desire to attach themselves to his cause. These offers were joyfully received by the Duc d'Orléans. But the Abbé de La Rivière kept steadily in his heart a private desire for reconciliation. He wanted to retain the good graces of his master, and he feared with reason that, if war were made, those who became necessary to him by their swords would prove more useful to his master than himself and might rob him of the good he now possessed through peace. He desired, therefore, to replace matters in a tranquil state and one more stable for himself.

He sent word to the princes of Vendôme, without promising them any special alliance, that he would serve their interests with Monsieur, and was, in his private capacity, their servant. But, fearing that the princes would go to the last extremities against the minister, he advised the Duc de Mercœur, through a third party, to receive the offer made to him from the minister, promising that, if Monsieur was reconciled to the queen as to the present matter, he would protect the prince's interest at Court and bring about his reconciliation, with all the advantages he could desire.

The anger of the Duc d'Orléans was thus negotiated; the Maréchal d'Estrées and Senneterre proposed the condition of peace. Monsieur at once declared that he wished the return of the Ducs de Vendôme, Mercœur, and Beaufort. He asked to have Montreuil for the Duc d'Elbœuf, and said he desired to perform his office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, the rights of which gave him a very extensive power throughout the kingdom, and especially in the armies. He also desired that the Duc de Lorraine should return to his States and be permitted to negotiate with France.

These proposals were made to Le Tellier, whom the Abbé de La Rivière desired to employ in this negotiation rather than any other agent. They were received by the queen with amazement. The Prince de Condé was surprised, not supposing that the Duc d'Orléans would carry his resentment with such haughtiness; and the cardinal was much embarrassed. While the cabinet was consulting as to how to avoid the storm, Monsieur went off to Saint-Germain to receive the praises that Madame gave to his generosity, and her plaudits pleased him much. The queen sent the Maréchal d'Estrées and Senneterre after him, to make him see the harm he did to himself in demanding from the king things that were so prejudicial to the royal service.

On their return the queen, who awaited them with impatience to learn if her reasoning had softened Monsieur's soul, made them enter her cabinet with her. They reported that it had not done so, and that he held firm on all his demands. As ambassadors they presented his complaints, and justified, as much as they could, his claims; for they did not like the Prince de Condé, and Monsieur's increased grandeur would not have displeased them. The queen, coming out after this conversation, seemed troubled, and showed us by the agitation of her face how much she was moved by the proceedings of the Duc d'Orléans.

The cardinal, in spite of his usual policy, was melancholy; and the Prince de Condé, who a few days earlier had shown such gaiety, diminished his joy. He saw with regret that his adversary was taking a course of lofty claims, and that the most important persons in the State were already on his side. The queen, being distressed by Monsieur's anger, held a council with her minister and the Prince de Condé, at which several matters of great consequence were broached. For these three personages, seeing that this affair might

lead to civil war, concluded that to extreme evils remedies of the same kind must be applied. At any rate they proposed them as if they intended to use them, in order to alarm Monsieur and disperse by fear that which appeared to proceed from over-boldness. The Abbé de La Rivière, who heard at once certain particulars of this council, was surprised; it is natural to fear results that events at Court are accustomed to produce. But he still thought that his greatest security lay in peace; and he was not mistaken.

Seeking that end, he sent word to the cardinal that unless he saw his master driven to extremities he would pledge his word and his faith not to let him keep up the warfare out of consideration for his interests. At the same time the Prince de Condé, urged by the minister, sent the abbé word that he would promise to do his best to let him have the French nomination for the cardinal's hat, and would endeavour in Rome to induce the pope to make his brother, the Prince de Conti, cardinal by favour.

But, in spite of these offers of the prince, matters seemed to grow more embittered, because Monsieur, who was beginning to get excited by his anger, would no longer go to the Palais-Royal. It pained him to speak to persons he wanted to hate; and those who knew him well said that if the Abbé de La Rivière should force him to continue to be angry his feelings would change towards that favourite, and dislike would take the place of friendship. So far from doing so the abbé, considering that it was not suitable that his master should leave the Court, and not desiring to have him enter upon a warfare the results of which might be grievous to himself, implored him on his knees to go as usual to the Palais-Royal and not allow the Prince de Condé to be sole master of the cabinet. The Duc d'Elbœuf, who wanted his own advantages out of this crisis, urged

Monsieur to the same thing; but they were quite unable to persuade him. He pretended to have the gout and stayed in bed. Madame and Mademoiselle were in despair, for they saw plainly that disgust and possibly the fear of imprisonment would oblige him to reconciliation, which they did not wish at all.

Thus fear was on both sides, — in the Palais-Royal as well as in the Luxembourg. Monsieur's sham gout gave the queen much anxiety. She ordered the regiment of the Gardes to hold itself in readiness, and sentries were doubled around the Palais-Royal. These orders, of which the Duc d'Orléans was warned, increased his fears, the effects of which increased those of the queen, who, seeing the great party which now began to form itself under the duke's name, had good reason, in view of the bad disposition of the public mind, to take every precaution against all that the malignity of men is capable of producing. Some days after the final agreement was reached, the cardinal owned to the Abbé de la Rivière that he had believed that Monsieur intended to abduct the king; but the prince was far indeed at that time from any such thought. He was even astonished to see by the queen's preparations that she already considered him an open enemy who intended to go to extremities. The result was much below expectations. The prince, instead of taking to a civil-war path, went to bed; and repose was so agreeable to him that to keep it up he pretended to need it. In fact I am not sure that he did not desire to be really ill, so as to have a pretext to be done with war altogether, the better to enjoy a perfect peace.

As the first step toward peace Monsieur came to pay the queen a simple visit, which was by mutual agreement cold enough to avoid, in so short a time, any touching on ex-

tremes. But, as a sign of reconciliation the queen made great complaint that those who sided with Monsieur had ceased to come and see her. For this reason he begged all his friends and servitors to go to the Palais-Royal; which they did; and the queen's Court soon resumed its usual aspect. She, who always loved repose, was much pleased when they came and told her that her large cabinet was full of persons attached to the interests of the Duc d'Orléans.

December 13th, the Abbé de La Rivière went to see the minister, who began the reception by closely embracing him, assuring him of his friendship and his firm intention to make him a cardinal. He said with many oaths that he had not contributed to what had taken place, and showed that what he had dreaded was the sole rule of the Prince de Condé. After these preliminary remarks they entered upon the main subject, and agreed completely on all the conditions of their compromise.

The first article which they discussed was the affair which had caused all the rest. The cardinal promised the abbé that the king and queen would do what they could to satisfy him; that the Duc de Mercœur should return to Court and re-enter the good graces of the queen and minister — already done by the minister himself; that Montreuil should be returned to the hands of the Duc d'Orléans, to give to whom he pleased; that the queen should consent to the settlement with the Duc de Lorraine, which, however, was to be only a matter of form to satisfy Madame; that all those who had declared themselves in favour of the Duc d'Orléans should not be less well-treated by the queen than before, and that her Majesty would approve of Monsieur's protecting their interests.

Through this pacification peace and contentment were fully

re-established at Court ; except with Madame, who found herself by this agreement deprived of the hope of drawing her brother the Duc de Lorraine out of his present state. She saw readily enough that the article relating to him was fictitious, that it would be without effect, and was only placed on paper to deceive her. Nor was Mademoiselle more satisfied than her step-mother.

The evening of the day of this agreement the queen told us that the Abbé de La Rivière had protested to her that he had been in despair at seeing himself for some time the cause of her troubles, and that he had asked her pardon with much humility. We saw, by what happened the next day, that the secret article of the treaty was that he should enter the council, while awaiting the time when the queen could make him a cardinal. He was received as minister of State to the great satisfaction of his master ; the prince thinking it advantageous to himself to have one of his followers in a position that would render him in a way master of public affairs.

The queen, weary of so much persecution, obtained some comfort from this compromise, which, following closely on that she had made with parliament, gave her reason to hope for a truce to her troubles. She was deceived in that hope, and was not long in knowing by experience that her crown and peace were incompatible, and that a throne resembles in its elevation those great edifices which by their height are more exposed than others to great storms.

Parliament, which had no wish for peace, now unanimously demanded to be assembled, and obtained that right from their chief-president, who, under divers pretexts, had hitherto prevented it. The queen, seeing their obstinacy, determined to send the princes of the blood with the dukes and peers. This accompaniment was designed to dazzle the

eyes of the public and show that she had not only the protection of the Duc d'Orléans and the Prince de Condé, but also the affection of the *grandeess* of the kingdom. She wished to show thereby the union of the Court and the fact that she did not lack for servants to defend and serve her.

Many questions were stirred up by the mutinous spirits in parliament, who were especially mutinous on that day. They complained that various points of the last declaration were disregarded. President Viole asserted loudly that not only were there great grounds of complaint as to this, but that many other disorders of the State demanded that they should think, and think seriously, of their remedy; that in order to cure such wounds the evil must be cut at the root — meaning by these words to signify the minister; that the soldiers in the field who were not paid would cause great disorder; that a certain colonel near Paris pillaged and did great wrongs, and was there expressly to cause terror to Parisians; that the person of the king suffered from the bad management of his ministers; that his kitchen was upset for the greater part of the year, and that often his officers had not enough money to keep his house; that persons of the Court were deprived of their places; and, in short, if matters could be carefully inquired into, he was ready to exhibit them to the public and to name those to whom he had alluded.

The sudden mutinous uprisings of the Parisian populace were also great signs of the universal corruption of souls and minds. This fire, easily lighted, needed no solid material to keep it up. The malcontents set going ridiculous rumours to convince the populace that the queen intended to avenge herself by sacking Paris. These delusions were readily believed on their side, and, as regarded the queen, they caused her serious harm. Libellous writings were cir-

culated saying that on Christmas night fatal events would take place, and those who endeavoured to have that falsehood believed seemed to succeed in their malignity.

The people, who received these tales without examining them, were carried away by violent hatred to the queen. There was scarcely a street or a public square that was not filled with defamatory placards. At the end of the Pont Neuf stood a post which was found, every morning, covered with satirical verses in which the respect due to royal personages was violated with impunity. The queen knew of all these insolences without being much pained by them. The iniquity of those who thus abused the credulity of the people caused her horror, and the deceived Parisians caused her pity. Without allowing herself to be surprised or hurt by all that malice and ignorance gave rise to, she lived tranquilly and like one whose soul was strong enough to support her under such circumstances.

The Christmas festivities arrested, for a few days, these public disturbances. The queen did not go to the Val-de-Grâce as usual, in order to reassure the people, who were convinced that she meant to take the king away from them. But all her caution did not prevent the ill-temper of the Parisians from troubling her, in spite of herself, as soon as the fêtes were over, and causing fresh anxieties to her minister. He began to despair of the health of the State, and saw clearly that to cure its malady, empirical remedies would have to be applied.

The king's lawyers came to ask an audience of the queen on behalf of parliament, to make representation of various pretended abuses which were being committed against the king's service. She answered that she would willingly hear them, but they must wait until the Duc d'Orléans, who had been for some days ill with gout, was in a condition to be

present. To occupy the minds of parliament, she sent them a declaration asking that permission be given to borrow money for the service of the king at ten per cent. At this, parliament murmured loudly, and thought it ill that the Cour des Aides had certified it.

The coadjutor had asked for the government of Paris and been refused; consequently, he was no better satisfied with the minister than before. He now secretly inspired the rectors of Paris with a desire to meddle in the affairs of State. The employment seemed to them a fine one, especially on this occasion when they could do much under pretexts of conscience which would appear very plausible to the public. They assembled and went in a body before parliament to represent that they had a right to oppose the loans that the king asked for because it was usury, hitherto tolerated but never authorized; and that if the supreme courts now agreed to this request they would be authorizing a sin.

This action of the clergy, which in itself might be good, but which seemed to emanate from the coadjutor, disturbed the minister. He was afraid that parliament would profit by the conjuncture to harass him still further; for already it proposed to consult with the Chambre des Comptes on this matter. All these things obliged the queen to withdraw her declaration and to say no more about the king's affairs. Thus the coadjutor gave proof of what he was capable of doing, and avenged himself promptly for the distrust shown to him, while awaiting further events which might give him the opportunity to do more.

On the last day of this year the Maréchal de Villeroy, who was awaiting a duchy, was received as a minister in the king's council, where there were few men who surpassed him in ability. He was moderate, naturally equitable, humble, compliant, and withal clever. He had always more or less

hated the cardinal on account of his attachment to Châteauneuf, his intimate friend. But in spite of that intimacy, the wise courtier always found means to preserve and sustain himself at Court, by submitting basely to the reigning favour. He did not, however, fail to serve his friends according to his possibilities, — which were limited in every way.

Thus ended the year 1648, which had not been fortunate. Thorns were mingled with few roses ; and the year we were now to enter not only had no roses at all, but the evils it brought were so great that we must find a stronger comparison than that to thorns, in order to express what we now endured and what the malignity of factious minds made all France endure — both those who suffered the evils and those who procured them ; for war has this misfortune, that it involves in the same suffering both victor and vanquished.

II.

1649.

THE Duchesse de Vendôme, after the restoration of her eldest son, the Duc de Mercœur, came to pay her respects to the queen, accompanied by her daughter the Duchesse de Nemours. Neither of them had seen the queen since the arrest of the Duc de Beaufort. Though Madame de Vendôme had more piety than intellect, people hailed their return with joy, for the unfortunate are always loved, and it was now said that the Duc de Vendôme himself would presently reappear at Court. The queen received these princesses kindly, and told them she had regretted that the violent temper of the Duc de Beaufort had forced her to treat him as a criminal. The factions that disturbed the State were advantageous to this family; for in proportion as the king's authority diminished, that of individuals increased, and the ministers consequently had less power to maintain what seemed to them to be just and necessary.

France was now in such a state that it was impossible it could remain much longer as it was. Either the king must recover his power, or his subjects would take from him all that remained to him — and this thought was odious to men of worth. The king was feeble; the princes had too much power; the minister was discredited; and parliament was undertaking too much against the royal authority. Matters had gone beyond all ordinary limits; order was overthrown; and Frenchmen, from having too many masters, now recognized none at all. It was needful, therefore, that at Court

some one of Paris should form a design for surmounting the other side. All worked at this, and each on his side neglected nothing to reach that end!¹

While this design occupied the minds of the chief personages of the State, Madame de Longueville appeared upon the scene to furnish, by her ambition, ample matter for the judgments of divine Providence. This princess, truly *precieuse* and brilliant with every charm, was by nature extremely lazy. She even neglected to please, and her greatest pleasure seemed to be to consider and respect herself only. But the poison of passions having infected her heart, this inward tranquillity changed first into a love of agreeable amusements, which turned, in the end, into grievous and turbulent excitements.

The homage of the Prince de Marsillac, as I have already said, did not displease her; and that seigneur, who was perhaps more selfish than tender, wishing to advance himself through her, believed it best to inspire her with a desire to govern her brothers, the Prince de Condé and the Prince de Conti. As she was capable of great ambition, and he in whom she had confidence was entirely possessed by it, this advice pleased her. She saw that by this means she would have part in all the great affairs occurring at Court; and all this, taken together, had power to weaken her reason and her virtue. She had already persuaded the young Prince de Conti to let himself be made a cardinal to please his brother the Prince de Condé, and so leave the latter heir to his inheritance. The princess's object in so doing was to oblige

¹ At times Mme. de Motteville's sentences are obscure in meaning; possibly it is lost in transcribing from the original. When this is the case the best thing a translator can do—at least, so it seems—is to give the words as they stand, and not seek to evolve a meaning. The French volumes are full of misprints. The above sentence is no doubt an obscure allusion to a design growing up in the queen's mind.—Tr.

the Prince de Condé by this service to give Havre to the Duc de Longueville. But this scheme had no success; the opposition of the Duc d'Orléans put an end to it. Madame de Longueville, having thus derived no advantage from her persuasions on the Prince de Conti, while vexed at failing in her own purpose, still continued to hope for the cardinal's hat for her brother, though neither he nor she cared much about it.

This bad beginning only served to embark her more and more in the cabals now forming against the Court; and already she had made strong alliances. She tried to induce her eldest brother, the Prince de Condé, to join them, but she found him little disposed to be led as she wished, because her designs were against the State, and he was not inclined to let himself be corrupted in that direction. This failure separated her from him to some degree, and obliged her to keep wholly to the care of governing the Prince de Conti, whom she intended should serve the purposes that best suited her. She was more loved than loving, for her inclinations were fixed on a single object [the Prince de Marsillac, afterwards Duc de La Rochefoucauld, author of the "Maxims"], which was the mainspring that acted in her and gave birth to all her other sentiments. But she made clever use of the tenderness that the young prince her brother felt for her, and found it easy to subject him wholly to her will. He so abandoned himself to it that it might be said he lived more through her than through himself; and their affection, by its effects and by its end, has since been very celebrated.

The queen, on her side, was weary of enduring so much. She determined to at last set limits to the rebellion of parliament, which the favours bestowed had not ended. Without consulting Madame de Longueville and with no intention

of pleasing her, she gave her, by means of her own action, great facility in satisfying all her whims; and these two personages worked, one with the other, from entirely different motives to the ends they desired to reach.

The queen, grieving that parliament, under a pretence of the public good, was filling France with veritable evils, applied herself earnestly to make the princes see that this assembly cared for nothing so little as the peace of the State; and that all their proceedings and their claims were only pretexts to bring about the ruin of the kingdom and the extinction of royalty. She resolved at last to listen to no more propositions from parliament, and to think only of the execution of a plan which she believed to be the sole remedy for her troubles. The cardinal desired intensely to find himself delivered, by the punishment of that guilty body, from its tyranny; and had he not feared the danger of such a high-handed undertaking he would have been the first to promote it, as the one who suffered most from the persecution of parliament.

The Prince de Condé had drawn upon himself the anger of parliament by a firm and severe reply to President Viole in the Chamber. He had, moreover, formed a sufficiently close alliance with the Duc d'Orléans through the Abbé de La Rivière (by the bait of the hat) to hope to bend him as he pleased. He had ill-regulated, or at any rate, ambitious desires; great princes such as he are never lacking in them. He thought by this means he should succeed in his designs without the opposition he had always feared from the Duc d'Orléans, who ranked him in position. He wanted also to acquire with the queen and her minister a special and complete merit by aiding the queen to avenge the king for the contempt his subjects were showing to the royal authority. To effect this he offered himself to the queen, assuring her of

his fidelity to the scheme she was now turning over in her mind. He did more: he persuaded her that the enterprise was an easy one, and told her that with him and the good soldiers of her armies she need not doubt that she would soon see the Parisians and the parliament at her feet.

The queen received this comforting harangue with joy. She was willing to risk all to re-establish the royal power which seemed to be expiring, and the dangerous condition of which demanded extreme remedies. With a protector such as the Prince de Condé, the minister dared to undertake all, and he counselled the queen to listen to the prince's advice. She, finding herself thus succoured and consoled, and very pleased to be able to hope for an end of her troubles, made a compact between herself, the Prince de Condé, and her minister, to leave Paris secretly, in order to punish it in the strongest manner, and to speak to its people henceforth by the mouth of cannon.

The Prince de Condé, assuming to be master of his own family, offered the queen his person, his services, and his government of Burgundy, assuring her also of that of Normandy, of which his brother-in-law, the Duc de Longueville, was governor. With these assurances, the queen planned, on leaving Paris, to establish the camp of the army at Saint-Germain, whence she could make war on the rebels and receive from Normandy all the succour she might need. She also believed she could use that government as a place of retreat, in case she could not, as easily as she hoped, reduce Paris and all within its walls to entire obedience.¹

¹ Montglat says that Condé had proposed a still bolder plan. A rumour was to be spread that the Spaniards were on the frontier, which would serve as pretext to concentrate the troops in Paris. The king was, at the time, to be on a hunting party at Vincennes, and then go to the Arsenal and establish himself in it. Master in this way of the artillery of the Bastille and the Arsenal, he could enter Paris with his army by the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, blast the barricades with a battery of 20 cannon in the

For the success of this plan it was necessary to gain over to their side the Duc d'Orléans, and this was difficult to hope for, because, not being the originator of the idea, he might not give it his approval. He was liked by parliament, and pleased to be so. Some of those who possessed influence had offered to make him regent, and still offered it to him daily. It may not, perhaps, have been in his power to take the regency from the queen, and we may even believe that he never had the wish to do so. But he was not sorry to flatter himself with the soft persuasion that he was master, that he could, if he chose, do much harm to the queen, and that for not doing it she ought to feel greatly obliged to him. He also thought that he deserved much credit for this moderation; and such a state of things did not displease him.

On a rumour getting about that the queen intended to leave Paris (for the secrets of kings are never entirely hidden), some of the most important men in parliament went to the Duc d'Orléans and implored him, if the queen really meant to do so, to remain with them, to support them in their necessity, and not to abandon the great city where he was so loved to the fury of the minister, a foreigner, who, being offended, might carry his vengeance to the last extremity.

rue Saint-Antoine, and as many more on the quai de l'Arsenal, and thus be master of the city without resistance. "The Maréchal de La Meilleraye," adds Montglat, "thought this plan very good, according to his natural temper and the manner of governing under Cardinal Richelieu, who liked violent remedies." But he added that "Notre-Dame must be seized [now le Saint-Louis] to make a *place d'armes*, and surrounded with cannon to hold in check the Palais and circumjacent regions."

These plans of Condé and La Meilleraye were not followed, because it was thought more prudent to begin by removing the person of the king from the capital and placing it in security under all events; and they hoped through famine to obtain the same results. "If bread from Gonesse is cut off for only one week, what then?" — said Condé to the coadjutor, speaking of the Parisians. — FR. ED.

The Duc d'Orleans, in accordance with his laudable sentiments, did not take advantage of the desires of these criminal souls, who wished him to unjustly become master until the king's majority. But, to compensate them for this, he strongly opposed the queen's resolution ; and when she spoke to him of her scheme he made every effort to induce her to change her mind. In vain, however, did he try to arrest the execution of the project. The queen went to see him at the Luxembourg, for he still had a little gout, and expressed a strong desire to see him take part in her scheme. She begged him, urged, conjured him by that friendship which had always held some place in the heart of each of them. Following these entreaties, she boldly told him that, even if he were capable of abandoning her on this occasion, she would still accomplish her enterprise ; adding that she was resolved to confide in the Prince de Condé, rather than continue longer in a place where the royal authority was no longer respected, where her person was insulted daily, and where that of her minister was threatened with every outrage. She told him she believed that he ought to support her, to teach the parliament and the people not to meddle in the government ; and that he knew very well that he himself had always advised her to do this. She assured him, moreover, that if he would like her, for his own satisfaction, to go to Orléans and place herself wholly in his hands, she would willingly do so, — being unable to lose confidence in a person who, until then, had never given her any real cause of complaint.

The Duc d'Orléans, who was naturally kind, and who had a favourite whose interest it was to see him always content and at Court, finding himself thus urged by the queen in so obliging a manner, could not refuse her ; and a resolution was taken by the queen, himself, the Prince de Condé, and

the minister to execute this great scheme with all the precautions that should guard against evil results. Orders were given, and the day chosen on which to leave Paris; and those who were the depositaries of this royal secret were perfectly faithful in keeping it. The Duc d'Orléans did not tell it either to Madame or to Mademoiselle; and the Prince de Condé concealed it carefully from the princess his mother and from Madame de Longueville, that illustrious sister with whom he believed himself to be so friendly.

In spite of all secrecy, however, a rumour spread through Paris that the queen had some such design. Parliament was alarmed; every one spoke of what they knew nothing about; each asked the other what it meant, and no one could say. But by a presentiment written in nature, truth, though hidden, was none the less known. The whole Court was roused; and those who were given to reasoning on the affairs of State, and wished to be ministers in spite of kings, were greatly preoccupied.

On the 5th of January, the vigil of the Epiphany, that day so celebrated, which will be talked of, no doubt, in centuries to come,¹ I went in the evening to the queen, with whom I was accustomed to pass the greater part of my life. I found her in her little cabinet, tranquilly employed in watching the king play cards, leaning carelessly on a corner of the table, and seeming to think of nothing but of what she was looking at. I placed myself behind her chair to take part in the same amusement, and do what all Court people are ever doing, namely: spend many hours uselessly. A moment later, Madame de La Trémouille, who was seated next to her, made me a sign with her eye and I stooped

¹ The other historians of this period, Omer Talon, Retz, and Montglat, content themselves with mentioning the departure of the Court. The following interesting details are found only in Madame de Motteville. — FR. ED.

towards her to know what she wished to say. That lady, who was not the least clever woman in the world, speaking very low, said, "There is a rumour in Paris that the queen leaves the city to-night." I was surprised at her words. For all answer, I showed her the queen and the tranquillity of her mind, and shrugging my shoulders, I wondered, with her, at this idea, which seemed to me chimerical.

The queen spent the rest of the evening in the same composure of mind which accompanied all the actions of her life; and we noticed nothing except, perhaps, that she was gayer than usual. The princes and minister paid their court as usual; but they did not stay late because they were going to sup with the Maréchal de Gramont, who gave them a great repast every year on this day. The queen spoke of her devotions, and told us she should spend the next day at the Val-de-Grâce. Monsieur, our little prince, on bidding her good-night, made her promise that he should go with her, and went to bed with that idea.

To amuse the king, the queen cut a cake, and did us the honour — Madame de Brégy, my sister, and me, who alone were with her — to make us share it with the king and herself. We made her the Twelfth Night queen, because the bean was found in the Virgin's slice; and to do the pleasant thing she sent for a bottle of hippocras, which we drank before her, and having no other purpose in our minds than amusement, we forced the queen to drink a little of it also; then, wishing to fulfil the obligations of the extravagant follies of the day, we cried out, "The queen drinks!" We supped as usual in her dressing-room, and made good cheer without the slightest uneasiness. After supper we talked of a repast the Marquis de Villequier, captain of the Gardes, was to give us two days later, and the queen herself selected those who were to go to it, and said that the

little violin band of the Prince de Condé must be sent to amuse us. In short we were so duped that we laughed with her at those who had said she meant to leave that night, and never did she seem to us more cordial or in better humour.

The queen owned to us, after the execution of her great project, that she had much trouble during that evening to keep herself from laughing; and also that she had felt kindly towards us and some compassion at leaving us in a city she was about to quit for the purpose of besieging it. But we always maintained to her that she was not then susceptible of any emotion of pity, but that joy and vengeance filled her whole heart.

Just as the queen was ready to undress, for it was then very late, Beringhen, chief equerry, for whom she had sent, entered the cabinet. On seeing him, she rose, and took him aside to order the king's carriages. Soon after midnight she again rose and said she had to speak with Beringhen about a matter of charity. If we had been capable at that moment of mistrust and had not been perfectly blinded, that speech of the queen would have opened our eyes, because she was not accustomed to give us reasons for the orders she issued; and we might have known that in case of a journey the chief equerry would have been in the secret. But as the queen often spoke with him, we gave no thought to it, and continued to talk of those agreeable trifles which make conversation.

After giving her orders the queen undressed; and as she was preparing to go to bed Mademoiselle de Beaumont, who had been supping at Beringhen's, told us — Comminges and myself — that there was some plan in the air, and that what she said was not a joke. She had guessed it from a speech made to her by the Maréchale de Gramont (to whom her

husband had told the great secret), and though the *maréchale* had said nothing of it to her friend she had so urged her to leave Paris with her that night that such signs of tenderness, added to the rumours then current in Paris, had filled her with suspicions.

Comminges and I began then to open our eyes, and we told Mlle. de Beaumont how the queen had sent for Beringhen, and had explained her conversation with him to us; which now seemed to us an extraordinary affectation. We then had reason to fear and to doubt. But, as the evil was without remedy, and as persons never much dread a peril they do not fully know, after talking together for a few moments over our miseries, as soon as we saw the queen in bed we said good-night to Comminges and Villequier, captain of the Gardes, who came in just as we were separating. We went home to bed saying to each other that events would show us the truth of all these mysteries.

As soon as we were gone, the gates of the Palais-Royal were closed under orders not to open them again. The queen rose to think over her affairs, but told her secret to none but her waiting-woman, who slept near her. The necessary orders were given to the captain of the Gardes, whom we left in the queen's room knowing no more than we did. The *Maréchal de Villeroy*, not informed of the plan until it was necessary he should know it, let the king sleep till three in the morning; then he made him rise, him and Monsieur, and put them in a carriage which awaited them at the garden-gate of the Palais-Royal, where the queen joined them.

These three royal personages were followed by the *Maréchal de Villeroy*, Villequier and Guitaut, captains of their Majesties' Gardes, Comminges, lieutenant of the queen's Gardes, and Madame de Beauvais, her head waiting-woman.

They went down by a private staircase which led from the queen's apartments to the garden, and going out by the little gate beyond the Rondeau they got into the carriages that there awaited them. The queen, having reached the Cours, which was the place of rendezvous, stopped there to await the Duc d'Orléans, the Prince de Condé, and all the royal household, who were to join her there.

After supper and cards at the Maréchal de Gramont's, which ended earlier than usual, the Duc d'Orléans and the Prince de Condé went each to his own home to give orders about their domestic affairs and to send their families out of Paris. The cardinal stayed where he was, amusing himself with cards; while his confidants were removing the most precious things that he possessed, and sending away his nieces, who were still with Madame de Senecé. The hour for the rendezvous having come, he got into a carriage with a few of his friends, whom he then told of what was happening, and went to join the queen, who was awaiting him in the Cours.

There all the chief persons of the Court, who were not warned until the very moment of leaving, were collecting; among them, the queen's lady-of-honour, her daughters, and many others. Each went for some friend to take with them and escape together from a city which was about to be the object of the king's anger. All those who could take flight did so eagerly. The cardinal's servants, who saw that their master had a great stake in the success of the journey, were the most diligent in making their retreat; and never was a night, without assault or warfare, more full of horror and anxiety.

I was warned, like the rest, at the hour when the queen started; and one of my friends, in the service of Cardinal Mazarin, knocked at my door with a carriage and six horses

to invite me to follow the queen. But I would not do so for several reasons, all of which concerned my convenience and peace. The Duc d'Orléans, having reached the Luxembourg, awakened Madame, who rose much troubled by the news. He also made his daughters rise, and all together they went where the queen awaited them. Mademoiselle, the eldest daughter of the Duc d'Orléans, had been warned by the queen herself, who sent Comminges to her directly after we left the Palais-Royal; and this princess, in the same surprise as the others, went, according to the orders she had received, to join the royal family. The Prince de Condé did the same in his household. The princess his mother, who insisted that the prince should have no secrets from her, was surprised to find he had hidden one so important. She was nettled. But as there was no time to scold, she took the princess her daughter-in-law and the little Duc d'Enghien, still in long clothes, and joined the troop in the Cours.

Madame de Longueville, who had remained to sleep that night at the hôtel de Condé on account of the Epiphany, was warned and entreated by her mother to accompany her. But she, with her mind full of great designs, excused herself on the ground that she was pregnant, and, moreover, that she dared not leave Paris without the orders of her husband. The Princesse de Condé, not accepting these reasons as valid, urged her to go; and as she would not do so, she was finally obliged to say that they could leave her without any anxiety, for she knew very well that the Parisians would do her no harm. She refused so persistently that her mother was compelled to leave her in the great city where her object was to establish her power. She reigned there for some time; and what she did will surely have a great place in the history of our era. The queen had written and sent by the Prince de Condé a

note to his mother inviting her to follow her, in which was a very civil message to Madame de Longueville; so that the queen, not seeing her, was rather surprised. But having no conception of what was to happen later, the excuse of pregnancy was accepted, and other occupations soon prevented her from regretting Madame de Longueville's absence.

The Prince de Conti was of the party; and, the whole royal household having assembled, it took the road to Saint-Germain-en-Laye. The king, the queen, and all the Court arrived there without beds, without servants, without furniture, without linen, without anything whatever that was necessary for the service of royal persons and their followers. The queen slept in a little bed which the cardinal had sent out from Paris a few days earlier for this purpose. He had provided another for the king, and there were besides two other little camp beds, one of which served for Monsieur, the other for himself. The Duchesse d'Orléans slept that night on straw, and Mademoiselle also. All others who followed the queen had the same fate; and in a few hours straw became so scarce at Saint-Germain that none could be bought for money.

When the departure of the king, the queen, and the whole Court was known in Paris, despair took possession of all minds, and confusion began at the dawn of day by five or six o'clock in the morning. Cries were loud in the streets and the excitement was universal. The first who heard the news sent word of it to their friends, and many persons of quality fled to Saint-Germain to fulfil their duty. Others, merely to escape the confusion, had horses put to their carriages and left Paris to seek in their country-houses the peace and security of which the rebellious city was about to be deprived.

When my friend came, as I have said, to knock at my door I had only just gone to sleep; and God alone knows with what sorrow I heard of this departure. My astonishment was not as great as that of others, for we had already seen the first signs of this disaster; but I could not help remembering with horror having heard the queen say that if she were listened to she would besiege Paris and starve it out in ten days. I at once determined to start at daybreak for Normandy and remain there during the period of this chastisement, which gave me many fears and would apparently cost France much blood.

I could not bring myself to go to Saint-Germain without furniture or means; for a widow who was not rich was not in a condition to expose herself to needs that would surely inconvenience the greatest seigneurs of the Court. On the other hand, I was not valiant enough to stay in a besieged city where I might be reduced to the greatest suffering and form wishes, in spite of myself, against the king's arms. But the uproar increased so much, and the populace committed such barbarities in the streets on those who seemed desirous to leave Paris that I found myself compelled to stay in my house. Many persons connected with the Court did likewise. We were long the object of the insults of the *canaille* and the animosity of those of the opposite party. The latter changed to us so much that persons who a week earlier were paying us visits now became in a moment our cruel enemies.

Parliament, seeing that visible marks of the royal vengeance were about to fall upon it, thought first of the safety of the city, and ordered the burghers to take arms. The Assembly seemed at first stunned by the stroke, and the populace and burghers, who usually act from impulse, were like madmen, while the others vomited imprecations

against the king and queen, the minister, and even against the princes.

The queen, on leaving Paris, wrote a letter to the provost of the merchants and the sheriffs (who at once transmitted it to parliament). In it she declared that she wished no ill to the people, nor to the good burghers. She explained her purpose, and said that she was compelled to flee from the violence of parliament, whose cabals and criminal intrigues with the enemies of the State took from her the means of living safely in Paris. She promised that she would never cease to love them, provided they would assist in avenging her upon her enemies.

The king also wrote to the same a very gentle letter, of which I have kept a copy. All the circumstances of so remarkable an event are, I think, worthy of the curiosity of those who come after us. Here is the letter:—

VERY DEAR AND WELL-BELOVED, — Being obliged with keen displeasure to leave our good city of Paris this night, in order that we be no longer exposed to the pernicious designs of the officers of our court of parliament, who, having understandings with the enemies of the State, after attacking our authority in various conjunctures and long abusing our kindness, have now conspired to seize our person, — we therefore desire, by the advice of our very honoured lady and mother, to tell you of our resolution, and order you, as we do hereby expressly, to employ yourselves, in all ways depending upon you, to prevent that anything shall happen in our said city to disturb its peace, or be prejudicial to our service: assuring you, as we hope, that all good burghers and inhabitants therein will continue in the duty of good and faithful subjects as they have until now, and that such will surely receive good and favourable treatment. We shall let

you know within a few days the results of our resolution; meanwhile, confiding in your fidelity and your affection to our service, we shall now say nothing further or more expressly.

Given at Paris this 5th of January, 1649.

(Signed) Louis

And lower down: "DE GUÉNÉGAUD."

On the back: "To our very dear the provost of the merchants, and the sheriffs of our good city of Paris."

On the 7th, de Lisle, captain of the body-guard, brought from the king an order to parliament and to all the other supreme courts of Paris to remove to Montargis, and all other courts to a similar place. The assembly refused to receive the king's order, on the ground that certain formalities had not been observed. Notwithstanding the letters from the king and queen which gave hopes of good treatment to the burghers, the queen now forbade all the villages around Paris to carry into the city provisions of any kind whatever. Bread was stopped, cattle were stopped; and it was plainly visible that the king was intending to punish the city of Paris.¹

The parliament, astonished and not knowing what to decide upon, chose the course of sending a deputation to the queen to entreat her to explain to it the cause of her flight, and to name the persons whom she accused of having an understanding with the enemies of the State, offering to bring them to trial. These proud heads bowed themselves and began to fear the sternness of their offended king; at this beginning of trouble certain of the factious

¹ According to Montglat, garrisons were posted at Pontoise, Poissy, Corbeil, and Lagny, to stop all boats, and blockade Paris by water as well as by land. — FR. ED.

thought of beating a retreat. Others, with more hardihood, caused an uproar in the Chamber; inspired by their own danger they boldly proposed to issue a decree against the minister as a foreigner. But they were hissed down, because in the state in which parliament now found itself, the wisest minds wished to avoid the dangers that threatened them, even at the expense of those of their colleagues who, by rebellion and audacity, had caused the danger in which they now were.

The queen and her minister, who had too often experienced to their injury that gentleness and clemency were harmful to the affairs of the king, and who, through the good disposition of the minds of the princes, might hope for favourable success in their present undertaking, refused to listen to the deputies. The queen sent them word that parliament had no longer the right to be in Paris; she had supposed it at Montargis, where all the members of that body had orders to retire; she wished them first to obey the king, and after that she would consider what to do. Sanguien went to meet the deputies and give them this answer from the queen; the same evening, on their asking to see the chancellor, that head of the law told them the same thing and sent them away, without entering upon the subject at all.

Able men believed, however, that if the queen had heard them, in the state in which they then were, stunned and void of hope, their repentance would have been sincere; that they would then have turned out the guilty ones among them in order to avoid the evils they had reason to fear; and that the public consternation which surrounded them would have led them to pay to the king all the respect that they owed him. But, for the misfortune of many miserable beings who suffered later, the queen thought she ought to put

no confidence in their apparent contrition. This last clemency, which would, perhaps, have been taken for weakness and fickleness by the minds of many, might not have resulted to her satisfaction. Something more seemed to be needed to re-establish the authority of the king and the power of the minister, such as the queen desired to see them; and God chose to make use of the passions of men to punish their crimes.

The deputies left Saint-Germain on the night of January 7th, having been refused by the queen, and the next day they made their report to parliament in a manner which forced that body to comprehend the bad position in which it stood. Despair gave the members strength; they believed themselves lost unless they could escape through extraordinary remedies. The leading minds among them were affected more or less by the spirit of rebellion; the guilt hated the royal power. They had gone so far in their evil doings that they had plainly shown they preferred the government of a republic to that of a monarchy. And perhaps there were some in the assembly who were not sorry that the necessity of defending themselves obliged them to follow an evil course, because they hoped in this extremity for some change in the State which would elevate the power and lower that of our kings.

They therefore based their hopes on the hatred which the people and the grandees of the nation felt against the minister; and seeing no good for themselves except in doing evil to him, they resolved to follow the maxims of Machiavelli, who says (as I have heard from those who have read him) that we should never do evil by halves. On this ground, they issued an edict against Cardinal Mazarin, in which they condemned him as the disturber of the public peace and enemy of the king and the State; they enjoined

all subjects of the king to attack him, without, however, bringing him to trial, without hearing him in his own justification, and without any right whatever to judge him.

As this decree seemed to me worthy of the memory of men, I kept the original, the terms of which are as follows :

“ This day, the court, all the Chambers assembled and deliberating on the report made by the king’s lawyers who betook themselves to Saint-Germain-en-Laye before the seigneur king and the queen-regent of France in execution of the decree of yesterday, the said lawyers being refused a hearing and stating that the city is blockaded, hereby decrees and ordains that very humble remonstrances in writing shall be made to the said seigneur king and the said lady, queen regent. And inasmuch as the Cardinal Mazarin is notoriously the author of all the disorders in the State and the present evils, they have declared and do here declare him to be a disturber of the public peace, enemy of the king and the State, and they command him to retire from court this day, and from the kingdom within eight days ; and that time having passed, all subjects of the king are enjoined to attack him, and all persons are forbidden to harbour him. It is also ordained that a levy of fighting men be raised in this city in sufficient numbers. To this end, commissions are delivered for the security of the city, as much without as within, to escort those who bring in provisions, that they be brought in all safety and freedom.

“ And the present decree shall be read, published, and fastened, wherever it should be ; so that no one may pretend ignorance of it. The provost of merchants and the sheriffs are enjoined to take in hand the execution hereof.

(*Signed*) “ GUIET.”

On the same day the Assembly gave orders to the police and also took means to raise money to put the city in a state of defence. The members taxed themselves first, to set an example to others, and each counsellor of parliament gave five hundred francs. All the supreme courts did likewise. Every porte-cochère paid from twenty-five to fifty crowns. In this way they raised a great sum [about a million of francs, says Omer Talon], intended for the payment of their fighting men. The Marquis de Boulaye was the first to take a commission from parliament to raise troops in its pay, but he was shortly followed by much greater seigneurs than himself.

The next day the Duc d'Elbœuf, who was at Saint-Germain, left it on pretence that his mother was ill and came to Paris to offer himself to parliament as general of its forces. He was received with joy, and the Assembly sent deputies to thank him and accept his offer.

The Duc de Bouillon, so renowned in our century for his ability in war and politics, was then in Paris, endeavouring to obtain his reimbursement for the government of Sedan but he was not satisfied with what was offered to him for that exchange. In the time of the late king that town had saved him from the condemnation about to be pronounced on him for the part he had taken in the conspiracy of Cinq Mars. The queen, who wished to treat him well, offered him large estates and wealth for what already belonged to the king, but he would not accept them. To reach his end and gain better advantages from the king, he now gave out that he had some thought of declaring himself in favour of parliament; which gave great hopes to the latter, and changed despair into fixed intentions of strong defence.

The persons who were attached to the king but remained in Paris were the ones to be pitied; for the populace

threatened continually to pillage them, and we dared not show ourselves for fear of our lives. My sister and I resolved to escape from Paris. We took with us a friend who was living with me, a person of birth and merit. We did what we could to get out by the Porte Saint-Honoré, intending to employ the assistance of certain persons who were awaiting us outside the gates. But the paupers who were about the Capucins, seeing that we intended to go out, crowded about us and forced us to retreat into the church of those good fathers, where they followed us noisily. At last they obliged us to go out again to seek help at a guard-house, where we hoped to find reasonable people. But the Parisian soldiers, excited against every one who seemed to wish to go to Saint-Germain, so frightened us by their threats that we retraced our steps towards the hôtel de Vendôme.

The porter of that house, instead of receiving us, shut the door in our faces, just as some of the scoundrels were picking up paving-stones to martyrize us after the manner of Saint Stephen. Mademoiselle de Villeneuve, the friend who lived with me, seeing one of these wretches approach her with a cobblestone in his hand to fling it on her head, said to him in a firm and tranquil tone that he did wrong to kill her for she had never done any wrong to him. She spoke with such spirit and reason that the rascal, in spite of his natural brutality, stopped. He flung away the stone and went off, but only to follow my sister and me who were running from the hôtel de Vendôme to put ourselves in safety at Saint-Roch.

Thanks to God, we arrived there in spite of the insults and threats of the *canaille*, eager for prey and pillage. As soon as I was there I fell on my knees before the great altar where High Mass was being celebrated. But these dragons

who had followed us respected divine service so little a woman, more horrible to my eyes than a fury, tore mask from my face, calling out that I was a "mazarin" and I ought to be knocked down and torn in pieces. I am naturally not valiant, I felt great fear. I wished my trouble to go to the rector, who was my confessor, to for succour; but my sister, who had more courage and judgment than I, seeing that I was followed by two thieves who, as soon as I reached the door, cried out, "Your pursuers dragged me from their hands, and prevented me from leaving the church, for there was all to fear from their barbarity."

The populace gathered more and more into the church, entering in crowds, till it echoed with howls, in which I could hear nothing except that we ought to be killed. The noise brought the rector, who spoke to them and silenced them with difficulty. As for me, pretending to confess, I begged him to send some one to fetch me protectors. He did at once; and my neighbour, the Marquis de Beuvron, with the officers of the quarter who happened to be at the guard-house, and other persons who heard of the peril which I was, came to help us, and pushing aside the *canons* did not leave us until they had taken us home, where we arrived so ill that we were forced to go to bed.

I acknowledge, to my shame, that I have never had such an illness (though I have had some that were very severe) which I had a greater fear of death than I had on this occasion. From that day I thought of nothing but how to get out of Paris. Not being able to live in peace at home, I went to entreat the Queen of England to receive me under her protection at the Louvre. This she did, some days later, with the greatest kindness, giving me two fine rooms, furnished with the crown furniture, which she and her whole court were using. I retired there with my sister, Mademoiselle



17th century

Madame de Longueville

Villeneuve, and my women; and we thought of nothing but laying in provisions to secure us against famine until the end of the war, or until I could get a passport to go where I wished.

But to return to public affairs: Madame de Longueville, who remained in Paris on pretext of her pregnancy, had really stayed with the idea of triumphing over the king, the queen, and her minister, and, what is more surprising, of revenging herself on her brother, the Prince de Condé, with whom she was not satisfied. Her soul, capable of great designs and strong passions, having lent itself to the enchantment of illusions as to the splendid height of glory and honour on which fortune might place her, was now following with too much readiness the counsels of a man who had a great and very agreeable mind, but whose ambition, being still greater, attached him to her as much, perhaps, with the intention of using her to avenge himself on the queen, drive away the minister, and attain to all that could gratify the human spirit, as by the passion that he had for her.

The sweetness of this poison, having distorted her imagination, made her disdain the usual virtues of women, and fill herself with desires for the homage of all France, not only for her beauty, but for the ability of a man of whom she intended to be mistress. She wanted to make herself a destiny worthy of her, and increase the grandeur of the house she had married into, by bringing it nearer to the level of her own. But, when her reason became subjected to her passions and to those of others, it was long before she comprehended that weakness and power are not compatible. And, forgetting what she had often heard, that everything here below is vanity and vexation of spirit, she drank in at first long draughts of pleasure, in making all Europe talk of her — which was, in fact, one of her chief aims. With

that she had reason to be content ; fame did her justice ; and long were the charms of her beauty, the delicacy of her wit, the grandeur of her courage, and the influence she had won in Paris and throughout all France, published to the world. But, not being obliged to conceal her defects or what was blamable in her conduct, she could not avoid such things becoming known through the same channels as her fine qualities.

Being thus intoxicated with her great ideas, and filled with those chimeras that delude the greatest minds, she allied herself with certain of the parliament, especially with those who were not pleased with the Prince de Condé (and these were the most rebellious in the Assembly) because they were convinced that if the queen resolved to punish them it would be by his advice rather than by that of the Duc d'Orléans. When Madame de Longueville heard the rumour that the queen was about to quit Paris, she hesitated no longer, but took measures with the coadjutor, who desired nothing with more ardour than to find material suited to the furtherance of his designs.

He wanted to be cardinal ; but he also wanted, with the hat, to occupy at Court the place now filled by him whom parliament desired to destroy. Thus these two persons, both having the same thoughts in their minds, became very useful the one to the other, without considering whether their union, convenient as it then was to them, could last, and without troubling themselves much about the great evils which it was destined to cause.

Madame de Longueville, having made her plan and found that it was time to declare herself openly against the Court, sent for her brother the Prince de Conti, and her husband the Duc de Longueville, who were at Saint-Germain, telling them to leave the Court, for ambition called them elsewhere.

The two princes, led by different motives, followed blindly the bidding of a princess who was walking in darkness, and left Saint-Germain secretly on the night of January 10th, arriving at the gates of Paris before sunrise. They were received by the burghers of that forlorn city with marks of great joy; and I have never heard such a noise as their arrival caused throughout the whole town. This joyfulness was not without reason; it was a great advantage to the Parisians to gain a prince of the blood as their protector.

The queen afterwards did me the honour to relate to me that the evening before this flight from Saint-Germain the Prince de Conti had appeared at his best; that never in his life had he seemed gayer, and that he threatened the Parisians more boldly than any one. The Duc de Longueville did not behave in the same way. She thought him gloomy, and so visibly confused that she and the cardinal noticed it and, without divining the cause, wondered at it. It was afterwards known that on the road to Paris the Duc de Longueville stopped and said to the Prince de Conti: "Monsieur, let us return to the king, and not set fire to all four corners of France — which will indubitably happen through this separation." The young prince, who was more complying to his sister than the husband to his wife, would not hear of it, and held firmly against the laudable sentiments of the man who had the honour to be his brother-in-law. As for the Prince de Marsillac, who was with them, I have no doubt that he went gaily enough to the crime of *lèse-majesté*, and that this journey seemed to him the finest and most glorious action of his life.

At Court they were so ill-informed that there was no suspicion of this intrigue. The Prince de Condé had known of their engagement with parliament, but having disapproved of it, he took their dissimulation for a change of heart.

He never supposed it possible that his family could separate from him. He had not even the slightest fear of it. But his own confidence deceived him; for it is certain that one of the most powerful motives of the Prince de Conti, and the most agreeable inducement which Madame de Longueville used to persuade him to the enterprise, was the pleasure of showing the prince his brother that he was capable of doing great deeds without him. The Princesse de Condé, their mother, who dearly loved the Prince de Conti and Madame de Longueville, hearing of this flight when she woke in the morning, seemed much astonished; and the Prince de Condé considered it an outrage done to his person, and a great obstacle to the designs of the queen, of which he had declared himself the defender. The princess had recourse to tears and went in that state to the queen, to whom she herself told the news, asking pardon for her children for the harm the queen was about to receive from their infidelity.

The queen was surprised and distressed, but her astonishment did not shake her; she consoled the princess, and assured her that, not doubting her innocence, she esteemed her none the less. She at once sent the information she had received to the cardinal by the Maréchal de Villeroy, who chanced to have been present at the interview. The news was not agreeable to the minister, who, more interested in this warfare than any one, saw all the consequences and felt, a keen displeasure.

The presence of the Prince de Conti stopped the tumult in Paris; the respect due to a prince of the blood caused the horror and desolation that pervaded the whole city to cease as soon as he entered it. For two days and two nights we had heard an incessant cry, "To arms!" uttered in a manner so terrifying that, for my part, not being used to such serenades by night or such music by day, fear never before pro-

duced such extraordinary effects as it now did in my little family, which, being chiefly composed of women and girls, keenly felt all the evil of that inconvenient and shameful passion. When the Prince de Conti arrived I was still in my own house, exposed to the black malignity of the Parisians. I own that, preferring my life to the success of the siege of Paris, I never felt such joy as when I heard of his arrival. I hoped that the populace would no longer be masters, and that under his authority order would reign. I afterwards acknowledged all my weakness to the queen; and my sincerity did not embroil me with her when, after enduring many perils, I gave her an account of our fears and adventures.

The Duc de Longueville had a patent from one of our kings by which he claimed to take precedence directly behind the princes of the blood. He thought, moreover, that a bastard of the royal blood of Valois, such as the Comte de Dunois, from whom he was descended,¹ who had the honour of restoring his king to the throne of his ancestors, deserved to become, if we may so express it, semi-legitimate; and he now meant to use the support of his brother-in-law, the Prince de Conti, to take that rank in parliament, or at all events to precede the Duc d'Elbœuf. But the Lorrain prince prevented him, for, learning that the Prince de Conti had gone to bed on arriving in Paris, he caused himself to be received in parliament as general of the armies before his competitor could present himself. The Duc de Longueville was almost in despair; and from that day forth he never went to parliament, — a just punishment for his unfaithfulness.

¹ Jean Dunois, Comte de Longueville, called the "Bastard of Orléans" son of Louis d'Orléans; fought by the side of Jeanne d'Arc against England; "le jeune et beau Dunois." — TR.

III.

1649.

WHILE we were suffering in Paris, the army of the king was blockading the city and seizing all provisions on their way to it. The Maréchal de Gramont commanded at Saint-Cloud, the Maréchal du Plessis at Saint-Denis. Persons of property shut up in Paris suffered with the guilty the inconveniences of war, from which they deserved to be exempt because of their innocence and their devotion to the king's service. Every one feared pillage, and all hid, in niches or in convents, whatever they had that was precious; for order was not maintained, and the greatest disorders were dreaded. Theft was permitted, crimes were legal, wicked men were masters; and every one could insult, as "mazarins" whomsoever they pleased.

Many houses were ransacked by order of parliament, with much roughness. The rights of individuals were treated with ridicule as chimeras; taxes were levied with impunity on those who had money. Many persons of quality endeavoured to escape these disorders by leaving Paris in disguise, particularly women. But nearly all of them had bad adventures to relate when they reached Saint-Germain, and better would it have been for each had she stayed where she was, exposed to famine and war, than find herself as she did a subject of laughter by the worthy buffoons of the Court, who told sorry tales before the king and queen, of accidents that happened to the ladies as they left Paris.

But amid this laughter the misery of those who had gone to Saint-Germain continued. They had no money and no furniture except that which the soldiers pillaged from the fine country-places which surrounded Paris, and sold for a song. The hatred of the public to the cardinal was the avowed pretext for the war, and the greatest misfortune of the queen's regency. This aversion must have caused her the saddest and most serious thoughts; nevertheless, that hatred became a topic of daily pleasantry among the courtiers. Persons who had been maltreated under the name of "mazarins" made their adventures the talk of the circle; and these matters were turned so easily into jests that the queen herself was the first to laugh at the atrocious insults uttered against her and against her minister.

But the queen did not always laugh; her affairs were going ill; the opposite party was increasing. The Duc de Bouillon had declared for the Fronde;¹ the Marquis de Noirmoutiers also; and the Duc de Beaufort had rushed to Paris to take part in the war. The Maréchal de La Motte, in revenge for his imprisonment, had followed the example of the others. All were appointed generals, under the Prince de Conti as generalissimo, with the Duc d'Elbœuf second in command. Though the king's army was not large, the Parisian troops would not have alarmed it if so many brave

¹ This is the first time that Mme. de Motteville employs this word. Montglat gives its origin as follows: "At that time there were troops of reckless young men who fought with slings [*frondes*] and stones in the moats of the city, often causing wounds and sometimes death. Parliament issued a decree forbidding this exercise. One day, during a discussion in parliament, a member having said something about the wishes of the queen, his son, who was a counsellor of inquests, said: "When my turn comes to vote I'll *fronder* my father's opinion." The word made those about him laugh; and after that, those who were against the Court were called "*frondeurs*." The word had vast success; instantly, bread, hats, muffs, fans, ribbons, handkerchiefs, gloves, and laces, were said to be "in the Fronde fashion." — FR. ED.

leaders had not seemed likely to be able to maintain it for a long time ; consequently, the queen's enterprise now appeared to the Court to be in a bad way.

The Prince de Condé was furious at the outrage he felt he had received from his brother the Prince de Conti, and his sister Madame de Longueville. And what at first was only a desire to oblige the queen now became a positive desire to avenge himself upon his family who had parted from him. He was the first to ridicule the bravery of the Prince de Conti ; he spared neither his deformed figure nor the delicacy of his complexion, which, he said, satirically, did not suit with the fatigues and functions of a general.¹

The Duc d'Orléans seemed gloomy, and as he had joined the queen's undertaking against his will, he was vexed that he had gained nothing from it but insults from the Parisians and complaints from parliament ; for that body had counted on his protection, and on the promise he had made not to abandon it to the vengeance of the minister. The Abbé de La Rivière, his favourite, was held in horror by the public, and he was now accused of having contributed to form the Duc d'Orléans' resolution to follow the queen to Saint-Germain.

The Prince de Conti and Madame de Longueville were lodged at the Hôtel-de-Ville, to serve as hostages to the parliament and the city ; and the Duc de Longueville determined to go to Normandy to hold that province, by his presence, to the cause ; which was a great object to his party and very much against the king's interests.

On the 12th of January, by order of the generalissimo, the

¹ The Prince de Conti was humpbacked and deformed. Montglat says that the Prince de Condé, passing before a monkey tied to the fireplace in the king's room, made it a low bow, saying : "I salute the generalissimo of the Parisians."

Bastille was attacked ; it made a show of defending itself, but nevertheless surrendered speedily. Parliament decreed that the taxes levied upon themselves and the money pillaged from individuals should be used to raise troops ; and commissions were issued for 14,000 foot-soldiery, and 4000 cavalry. Those who enrolled themselves were not great warriors, and the money given to generals, officers, and men was more than the value of the troops to those who paid it. The command of the Bastille was given to the son of Broussel, who did not deserve to be so well rewarded for his criminal proceedings.

The Duc de Beaufort presented a request to parliament to be vindicated under the accusations made against him during his imprisonment ; and, just as Cardinal Mazarin had been condemned without being heard, this prince was absolved without other proof of his innocence than that of being the minister's enemy. He was received with plaudits, and blessed by all, as a man ill-treated by fortune, whose birth and courage might be useful to them. The early rays of glory which surrounded him at the beginning of the regency had left some lustre still upon him ; and those who during his favour had made him their hero dared not change their sentiments. Besides those persons of society, who were called strong-minded because they were against the king and who were now attached to the duke, he had the luck of being ardently beloved by the Parisians and the fish-wives ; and this popular love gave him such a reputation during our wars that he won the name of *roi des halles* [king of the markets] in all the vaudevilles of that day.

January 15, a proposal was laid before parliament to send an entreaty to the queen to dismiss from her presence Cardinal Mazarin. It was rejected, as being too mild towards the Court ; all present said that parliament ought not to

limit itself simply to that article; that it was now in a position to undertake everything, and to give new laws to the State. But the princes, and the great seigneurs who had joined the party, cared much more to obtain from the minister what they wanted than they did to drive him away, or amuse themselves by reforming the State. They all said, however, that they wished to work for that end; but only dupes were taken in by that assertion; at that time, and for very long after, every man sought only his own private interest, and cared little for that of the public. If any among them had been capable of zeal and fidelity to that public good of which they talked so much he would have renounced these unjust proceedings and known that the greatest service he could render France would be to leave it to the government of the queen and the minister whom they were loading with insults.

There was no one who thought of doing the right and living virtuously. They all wanted to maltreat the cardinal in order to humiliate him and put him in a position of embarrassment; but nearly all wished to keep him where he was, in order to get their profits out of him. He gave freely whenever he was placed in a bad position, and they knew but too well that he would spare neither dignities nor money to save himself from danger. The facility with which he forgave his enemies took from them the animosity which is usually to be found in the hearts of those who know that they have given offence, and who, no longer hoping for favours, drive their insults to extremes. On the contrary, the cardinal's enemies always found it very convenient to look for reconciliation with him, and to obtain, by tolerating his rule, both pardon and benefits combined.

January 16 and 17, by way of beginning the war, Maréchal de La Motte with about thirty cavalry went in sight

of the king's troops. The Maréchal Du Plessis advanced to meet him. The Parisians, who were frightened, retired, as they said, out of respect, not wishing to be the first to fire against soldiers of the king. On the same day the chief-president, either from some private animosity or to do a service to the Court, prevented the coadjutor from taking a seat in parliament. He claimed to have a right to do so in the absence of his uncle the Archbishop of Paris. The chief-president could not long oppose it, for the coadjutor had many friends. He took his seat after a while in spite of him, saying that there were many instances of coadjutors taking the place of archbishops.

The city of Rouen, the parliament of which was attached to the Duc de Longueville and wished to keep itself in a position to do whatever seemed to him best, acting according to the fashion and spirit of the place, made a show of keeping to the king's side, but gave orders, nevertheless, to guard its gates, and to the burghers to take arms. The chief-president was a good servant to the king, but he had no influence in the Chamber, and all his fidelity was useless. The queen at once sent the Comte d'Harcourt, with orders for the government of Normandy, to seize the city of Rouen. This prince, valiant and bold in war, but too timid in a matter of peace, stopped on the advice of the chief-president, who made him remain in the suburbs of the city, assuring him that he should be received, and that he himself would send him deputies as soon as he had informed the assembly of his arrival. He advised d'Harcourt to send his commission to the Norman parliament, to be deliberated upon ; and asked him to do him the honour to sup with him that night. The lieutenant-general, Varangeville, who was faithful to the king, told him he had better not risk this course, and advised his entering at once and presenting his

commission in person, in order to surprise the parliament and not give it time to deliberate upon it, or find means to exclude him. The Comte d'Harcourt, not being able to judge which was the surest way, thought it would be prudent to follow the advice of the president of the Assembly and await the result of its deliberations in the suburbs. Parliament decided to elude him in order to gain time; which gave opportunity for the friends and followers of the Duc de Longueville to intrigue through the city for the purpose of preventing the Comte d'Harcourt from entering it; and thus the king, who had fewer friends in the city than its former governor, lost his cause.

The Comte d'Harcourt was forced to retire with the vexation of not having succeeded in his design. He said for his justification that he went into Normandy without troops and without money, and that, having thus no means to enforce authority, he dared not risk being insulted. Which was not a weak excuse, because, in fact, nothing can be done without money and without forces, two things that from all time have been the sinews of war. He retired to Pont-de-l'Arche, and from there to Écours, where he stayed some time with few soldiers and much courage, determined to oppose the undertakings of the Duc de Longueville if he attempted to harass the king at Saint-Germain.

January 21, the generals of Paris made a grand sortie for the purpose of escorting in a convoy of wheat, which they did not find, bringing back no other marks of this great victory than a general catarrh, for the weather was extremely cold. As bread grew dear the populace of Paris redoubled in fury against all the persons of quality whom they thought "mazarins"; which made that *canaille* worse than demons. The fear of suffering, which ought to have gentled them, served only to increase their rage. Idlers, who amused themselves

by shouting, prevented the departure of those who tried to go to Saint-Germain or to their country houses, doing them every outrage. The furniture of the king himself and that of the queen, her clothes and her linen, which she tried to obtain, were pillaged, and the king's name became so odious to his subjects that his pages and footmen were hunted in the street like criminals and enemies. This seditious animosity was at last so great that it was necessary to change the livery of those who had the honour to wear that of the king when they were sent into Paris.

The Princesse de Carignan and her daughter left Paris in a boat, pretending to go to foreign countries, and carrying with them their jewels, which were very fine. Parliament sent to ransack the houses of all those who were attached to the cardinal, and his banker was maltreated. Wise men saw these evils with sorrow, and some of the parliament dreaded the power of so many princes and masters; but the hour had not yet come when their minds should be wholly disabused.

The first raising of funds, amounting, it was said, to three millions of francs, being exhausted, it was necessary for the leaders of the city and parliament to lay fresh taxes on themselves. The president, De Novion, alone gave fifty thousand francs, and, through his example, many persons made magnificent contributions. But they did not like it; and it is to be supposed that they would much have preferred the obscure condition of private individuals to the honour they had in commanding princes and being served by them; for the wages of such personages are large. The Duc d'Elbœuf alone, under pretence of raising levies, had cost them already, he and his children, more than forty thousand crowns. However, they had to maintain past mistakes, and provide bread.

The Duc de Beaufort, at the head of five or six thousand

men, made a plan for attacking Corbeil. He was mounted that day on a white horse, and had put a quantity of white feathers in his hat. In this condition his fine presence attracted the admiration of the people, and he received many blessings as he rode along. The Prince de Conti escorted him to the gate of the city. The coadjutor, as great a warrior as he was a preacher, was of the party; and the Duc de Brissac, his relation and friend, went with the expedition.

The next day this Parisian army returned without striking a blow. These boobies deserted their general a few steps beyond the gates of the city; and their cowardice was the reason why the Duc de Beaufort, in spite of his valour and his desire to avenge himself, dared not attack Corbeil; for the Prince de Condé, who was making war in due form, had thrown twelve hundred men into it to guard it. All that the bravery of the boobies produced was the capture of a few beeves and cows, which they brought into Paris to rejoice the populace. Their warlike exploits ended with that conquest, about which the Prince de Condé laughed loudly and made good stories to the queen. But after all, there was not so much to laugh at, for they had done what they needed to do — given provisions to Paris and made the royal enterprise hang fire. Every day it was retarded by the market-men and peasants, who nightly contrived to evade the king's sentries and brought their produce into Paris, where they sold it better and at higher prices.

The burghers, who until then had not suffered much, were so arrogant that they feared nothing; and their imprecations against the queen and her minister increased daily with much insolence. The Prince de Conti and the parliament had sent to negotiate in Spain, in order to maintain themselves by foreign forces when others failed them. They laughed at the threats of the cardinal, who caused a rumour

to be spread that he had come to an agreement with the Duc de Lorraine, and that Pigneronda, minister of the King of Spain, was coming to the frontier to arrange a peace with him.

But, as the forces of the king outnumbered those of his subjects, the queen still hoped for a favourable issue to her enterprise, and said she feared nothing but peace and the kindness of the cardinal, which might lead him to compromise disadvantageously. She affected to say this before the Duc d'Orléans; fearing that he would allow himself to be persuaded by parliament to enter into some shameful negotiation to the prejudice of the royal authority and the interests of her minister. Her object was not to be forced into letting the latter go; and by speaking in this way she meant to make the princes understand that she could not be prevailed on against him.

The Duc d'Orléans acted as a loyal prince who wished to do no harm to the queen; but he was grieved at the siege of Paris, and did not wish to lose the tools he had in parliament. He wrote to that body that he was distressed at the state in which France then was; that he had left Paris with regret, and solely not to leave the king and queen in the hands of the Prince de Condé; and that his greatest desire was to contribute to peace. The Abbé de La Rivière, who knew he was hated and threatened, feared that this hatred would ruin him, because he had not as many forces to support him as the cardinal. To soften the minds of parliament he let them know that his master would protect them on all occasions, and that he had gone to Saint-Germain for the purpose of conducing to the public good and to that of individuals also.

These assurances gave birth to great designs, and drew upon the Duc d'Orléans many propositions, both old and new.

Châteauneuf made them to him through his friends ; Madame de Rhodes, his confidante, and friend of the Duc de Beaufort, assured the Abbé de La Rivière that if he expected to be made cardinal by the queen he was mistaken, and that he would repent not making his master accept the regency which was offered to him — and which might then, perhaps, have been really given to him. The negotiator, as he told me himself, was, in case of refusal, to offer to the prince the rank of generalissimo. But all these negotiations were fruitless. They were intended merely to separate the Duc d'Orléans from the queen and deprive him of the real and legitimate power he enjoyed, by the lure of false grandeur. He was wise enough to recognize the solid good he possessed, and to prefer it to the fruitless calamities that usually follow an unjust claim. Equity had more power over him than the intrigues of the *frondeurs*, the leaders of whom were full of false theories.

The Prince de Conti and Madame de Longueville, according to that mistaken human prudence which constantly deceives itself, also desired to separate the Duc d'Orléans from the Court, wishing, perhaps, to see him a discredited and powerless regent. They therefore made him the same offers as parliament ; thinking that by depriving the queen of his support they themselves would attain greater power. Perhaps they thought that the queen, assisted by the Prince de Condé and served by the armies and by the grandees of the kingdom attached to the king, would have sufficient force to maintain herself ; and if so, by becoming reconciled with the head of their family he and they together could extract from the minister's weakness all they took the trouble to ask.

The coadjutor, Châteauneuf, and others, inwardly opposed to the cabal of Madame de Longueville, wanted more. Their

plan turned wholly to the greatness of the Duc d'Orléans. They wanted him as a ruling regent; and it is to be believed that, could they have achieved it, they would have ruined the queen and the Prince de Condé. But the Duc d'Orléans, whose intentions were good, listened to none of these proposals, and continued steadily in the one purpose of the peace which he desired to bring about. He did this at last; but in a manner very disadvantageous to the royal authority, which he seemed to be wishing to protect. But he is infinitely estimable for not allowing himself to be corrupted by so many means of temptation and the various tainted minds which surrounded him.

While they were thus negotiating on all sides, Madame de Longueville gave birth to a son at the Hôtel-de-Ville, who was named Charles-Paris. In spite of her condition, the pleasure of intriguing gave her strength; and, delicate as she was naturally, she did not cease to hear, and talk, and act; which shows that passions can carry nature beyond herself, and that no one can arrest them but God, by grace and a great undeceiving.

Misery now began to make itself felt in Paris; and the poor already suffered much. All provisions became dearer; and although the suffering was not great for a besieged city, still the famine was a great discomfort to many, and above all to the poorer classes. The rivers overflowed this year, and Paris resembled Venice. The Seine flooded it completely; people went about the streets in boats, but far from regarding this as an embellishment, the inhabitants found it a great inconvenience, and the ladies would not use those famous gondolas so admired on Venetian canals, to exhibit their beauty.

While calamities increased in Paris, councils redoubled at Saint-Germain, where anxiety was now proportioned to the

bad condition of the king's affairs. Both sides were suffering. The Duc d'Orléans, following his inclinations for the public good, wrote to his friends in parliament, urging them to think of peace. He did more; he spoke of it to the queen, who, notwithstanding her own sentiments, was constrained to hear him. This advice brought the Archbishop of Paris to Court on behalf of certain members of the parliament. He had long conferences with the minister, who expressed to him a desire to heal matters. Those who controlled the factious party were not as yet quite disposed for peace; and the prelate's journey had no effect at the time, beyond that of beginning on both sides to trace the ground for future conciliation. The Prince de Condé forbade him to give an account in public, on his return to Paris, of the favourable words that were said to him. The prince feared lest the people might humble themselves, and the respect they owed to the king revive in their hearts.

The minister now began to say that he would be willing to leave France provided the royal authority were not hurt by his doing so; and some one saying to him in jest that all would be well if he would only go, he replied seriously that he was ready to go, and only asked, for his contentment, to see the king respected and obeyed by his people.

The Prince de Condé did not wish for peace, and knowing of the Duc d'Orléans' negotiations, he said to Senneterre that he himself never negotiated with an enemy; but that, if the Duc d'Orléans or the minister showed themselves willing to do so, he would treat with thousands, because he did not choose to be thought a dupe and bear the whole burden of public hatred. He said, moreover, that he wanted to conquer the Parisians because they were cowards, and their generals men who could not agree together, and whose valour was useless through the discord of their sentiments and

cabals and the disorder that is always to be found in a party made up of many persons.

The queen scrupulously consulted learned men as to whether, in conscience, she could not continue the war. She showed them how she had been compelled to begin it by the cabals in parliament which ended in manifest disobedience, and by the riots of the people; she made her intentions of peace, as soon as she saw an end to the causes of the war, the basis of her consultation. On that understanding they replied that she could continue it; but that, in order not to confound the innocent with the guilty, she was bound to seek conciliation by all reasonable and possible means which would manifestly not be to her disadvantage.

Some persons, influenced by the voice of the people and judging from it of the feeling against Mazarin, told her that she ought to remove the cardinal from the ministry. But she would not do this, because she was convinced that such yielding would be dangerous to the royal authority and contrary to the service of the king. She saw no man able to fill his place who was not attached either to Monsieur or the Prince de Condé. That is why she always replied on this point, to those who spoke of it, that she would never commit the same mistake as the king of England, who abandoned his minister to public wrath, lest she should bring upon herself the evil results that prince was now feeling in his own person and in his kingdom.

The cardinal, on his side, was not ashamed to have recourse to those he had so lately been threatening. He often sent his friends and servants into Paris to negotiate with those men in parliament who had the most influence. Some were well-intentioned, and many wise men had a horror of the war; for these good reasons we may believe that the cardinal's ambassadors were well received. The negotiation

was conducted, according to the natural instinct of the minister, in a way to please the other side, whether that were composed of his greatest enemies or of those who, not detesting him, wished to agree with him. In this he resembled that great princess, Catherine de' Medici, who, to gain time, made peace several times with the Huguenots, though she knew it only served as a truce to the troubles and did not make them cease. The apparent gentleness of her conduct did not in the end serve her ill; but it sometimes appeared so odious that it is impossible to praise her for it; if any good ever came of it we must adore divine Providence first, and after that attribute honour to the courageous resistance of that queen.

The *frondeur* generals received information that the army of the king was about to attack Charenton, one of their best routes by which to bring provisions into Paris. They had thrown a considerable garrison into the place, with a valiant man to defend it. When the threatened attack was known in Paris, those commanding there resolved to prevent it and to issue from the city with all their troops, of whom they had as many as they wanted. The multitude, in fact, was unlimited, for every Parisian was now a soldier, but a soldier without courage.

The generals, who felt their own courage capable of everything, were bold enough to say they would give battle if they saw fit; but I think that in saying that they had already decided it was best not to do so. Policy and common-sense obliged them to threaten and to fear, and compelled them to conceal, by putting on a brave front, the weakness of their side through the miserable troops which they commanded.

The Prince de Condé, the terror of the Parisians, came down (Feb. 8), like a torrent carrying everything before it,

on the village of Charenton, which was trenched, barricaded, and well supplied with brave men. The Duc d'Orléans was with the king's army in person; and every one who could bear arms about the Court was there also. The army was small [about 6000 men], but it was good; and the fame of its general increased its power greatly. The Prince de Condé, accustomed to great victories, carried the place, killed all who dared resist him, and cut the garrison of 2000 men to pieces. Clanleu, who commanded, was killed, defending the place valiantly, and refusing the life they offered him, saying that he was luckless on all sides, and it was more honourable to die on this occasion than on the scaffold.

As a result of this expedition the Prince de Condé put his army in battle array, and had leisure to bring it into good order before the troops of Paris could arrive.¹ The two armies were quite a long time looking at each other and doing no harm. That of the king had done all it planned to do; and that of Paris had very feeble intentions to attack, and not enough courage to resist the king's forces, whose meanest hangers-on were Cæsars and Alexanders compared with the best soldiers of parliament. This numerous and bad army never left its intrenchments, which were the last houses of Picpus; the rear-guard remaining at ease in the Place Royale, gazing at the bronze horse which bears the figure of Louis XIII., the sight of which ought to have shamed them for rising against his son and their king. But far from having any such sentiment, all their bravado had but one vent, that of calling down maledictions on the young monarch whom, a few years earlier, they had re-

¹ Montglat says: "50,000 men came out from Paris and put themselves in line of battle along the plain from Picpus to the river, and were spectators of the fight (the valley of Fécamp between them) looking at 10,000 men defeating their friends without daring to advance to their succour."

—FR. ED.

ceived as a gift from Heaven granted to their prayers. The two armies retired each to its own side, — that of the king glorious and satisfied; that of Paris much ashamed at having given no other proofs of its valour than threats and insults — not made near enough to the enemy to be heard, for which reason they were not avenged.

On the same day, during the absence of the generals, those persons in Paris who were inclined to the Court and friends of the minister, proposed to parliament through the king's lawyers to send a deputation to the queen, rendering her very humble thanks for what the Archbishop of Toulouse had said on her part. The latter had not so scrupulously obeyed the Prince de Conti that the leaders of parliament were not made aware of the favourable treatment he had received at Saint-Germain; and those who had good intentions now made good use of it. The chief-president, who was more royalist than *frondeur* (but of every side as it suited him), supported the proposal. President de Mesmes, then rather friendly to the Court, the dean, and some others did likewise. But those who were called *frondeurs* made an uproar and forced those who favoured a deputation to be silent. But after enduring the opposition for awhile they again proposed it several times, and each time the outcries redoubled as the zeal of its supporters continued. The *frondeurs*, beginning to fear they should lose their cause, sent one of their number in haste to warn the Prince de Conti, who came instantly to parliament, and represented that it was very hard on him and on the others of their party that the assembly should choose to order an act of this importance while the generals were in the field exposing their lives for their quarrel. With these reasons, joined to the shouts of the *frondeurs*, he put an end to the proposal and returned to the Hôtel-de-Ville, believing, what was true enough, that

he had fought with more valour than those who had gone out to fight.

The chief-president said openly on this occasion that it was impossible to hold parliament if it was treated in this manner. Minds were, in fact, so bereft of reason that during these disorders, and particularly on the days when important matters were discussed, the members carried little daggers under their robes, to use at need in the interests of the party they had at heart.

The generals on their return, learning what had happened in parliament, saw plainly that affairs were going wrong, and several among them inclined for peace. They judged it impossible that their party could long exist; and the fear they had of perishing made them deliberate, in presence of Madame de Longueville, as to whether the chief-president should be arrested. Some were in favour of having him killed by the populace, and of doing the same by all who had appeared to approve of the deputation to the queen. The most extreme proposals were made by those who had more passion than wisdom. The coadjutor himself was not more moderate. He did not practise the virtues that Christianity enjoins on those who desire to live by the rules of the Gospel, and according to the obligations of a man of his profession. He risked all to attain the object of his desires; seeking fame, he exhibited sentiments which dishonoured him.

February 12 a herald-at-arms arrived from the king at the Porte-Saint-Honoré, wearing a sleeveless coat of blue velvet covered with golden *fleurs-de-lis*, a velvet cap upon his head, and a baton in his hand, covered with the same velvet and also studded with *fleurs-de-lis*. The captain of the gate told him that he could not let him enter without permission of the Prince de Conti and the parliament.

Parliament instantly assembled to consult what to do. It was decided to refuse entrance to the messenger, and the king's lawyers were directed to go to Saint-Germain and represent to the queen that, as the king was not accustomed to send heralds to his subjects, they had refused to receive this one as enemies; and they entreated her to let them know what it was that she desired to make known to parliament. This deputation was not displeasing to the Court, because it was respectful, and opened the way for propositions of agreement which all men of worth desired. Parliament also ordered that the colonel of the quarter should hold the sealed packets brought by the herald, unopened until further orders.

There were three of these packets: one for parliament, one for the Prince de Conti, and a third for the city of Paris. In the first the king made mention of the declaration he had issued on leaving Paris, in which he had enjoined parliament to remove to Montargis; and also of that which had been given against them in consequence of their disobedience, in which the whole assembly were declared guilty of *lèse-majesté*; and the missive concluded by saying that, notwithstanding all this, the queen, opening the arms of her mercy, with a kindness wholly extraordinary, promised them, on her royal word, that if they would obey the first declaration which condemned them to go to Montargis, and re-establish the authority of the king by that obedience, she would restore them to their rights and privileges, and pardon all their past revolts without ever remembering them; and in a special Note they were made to hope for still further favours if they would send a deputation to the queen.

In the second missive the king informed the Prince de Conti that, having been declared guilty of *lèse-majesté* in failing to obey the first declaration, which ordered him to

appear within six days before his Majesty (in default of which he had been deprived of his offices and governments), if he were now willing to obey the said orders of the king, the queen promised to restore him to his original innocence and to the enjoyment of his property, offices, and governments; and a special Note gave hopes of further favours and a longer delay if he asked for it.

In the third letter, the city having been invited in the king's declaration to separate from parliament and its interest, in default of which all the inhabitants were treated as rebels, they were now informed that if they would return to their true selves and obey the king, the queen would pardon all their wrong-doings, and restore to them their usual rights and privileges, treating them as good and faithful subjects whom her Majesty had tenderly loved.

The deputies of parliament asked for passports to Saint-Germain to go there, as had been resolved on the arrival of the herald. The *frondeurs* were in despair at this deputation, and the Duc de Beaufort, master of the populace, declared that he would kill those who proposed conditions of peace that did not include the dismissal of the cardinal. But all these threats could not prevent the negotiations from being carried on. The queen refused passports to the king's lawyers, wishing to treat them as private individuals, because she claimed that parliament was indicted and declared guilty. This haughtiness, like the rest, could not be maintained; she was forced to grant the passports in the form that the king's lawyers wished; and she was even obliged to treat them favourably. Her prudence and her minister advised her to do so on this occasion, when she was not in a position to act according to her own sentiments. Matters were discussed between the minister and the deputies rather generally, for both sides held themselves reserved, neither of

them daring to show that they wished what in reality they desired as the remedy of all their evils.

The deputies, on their return, rendered an account to parliament of their mission. The generals were alarmed lest the narrative should change the disposition of minds; because a desire for peace and tranquillity is naturally imprinted in the hearts of all reasonable men. The Prince de Conti, in concert with the other generals, interrupted the report by presenting to parliament an envoy from the archduke, who promised them the help of Spain, and exhorted them to defend themselves firmly. Many of those in parliament were amazed when they heard this mention of the archduke. Others rejoiced; and this diversity of sentiment among the members showed the difference in their virtue and loyalty. This proposal from the foreign enemy caused many of those who were only partially inclined to do right to resolve to do so altogether; for it is not easy to pass so hastily from wrong-doing to crime, and the venerable impression, engraved on the hearts of nearly all nations, of the duty of subjects to their sovereign is not so readily effaced.

After the harangue of the Prince de Conti, the assembly deliberated as to whether it ought to listen to the envoy of the archduke. They doubted, justly, whether they could hold intercourse with an enemy of the State; and the majority of those who composed this assembly wished to avoid the crime of *lèse-majesté*, and of putting themselves in the ranks of declared rebels. This extraordinary deliberation ended in a decision to hear the envoy, and after doing so, to render an account of the matter to the queen.

The envoy began by delivering a letter of credentials to the Assembly, which was written in Paris; then he said that the archduke, having refused all the advantages offered to him by the queen, had commanded him to ask parliament

for peace between the two crowns on conditions of which they alone should be judges. He told them that the archduke would not negotiate with Cardinal Mazarin, since that minister was condemned by their august assembly ; that he believed there was no safety in dealing with him, but he hoped to find it through their intervention ; and in case the peace he asked was refused by the king, he offered to parliament an army of twenty thousand men, which was now on the frontier and ready to serve them.

After this harangue, the speaker was thanked and he retired ; it was then ordered that the king's lawyers should be heard. They had been interrupted, as I have said, by the Prince de Conti, expressly to hinder the effect of their words ; but that malicious trick did not silence their statement. They told the assembly that the queen had received them well, and had ordered the chancellor to say to them, in the king's name, that she had not been displeased by their refusal to receive the herald she had sent to them ; that she received their excuses as good and legitimate, proving that they had a horror of the name of rebels ; that her said Majesty assured them that as soon as they would humble themselves and render to the king, her son, the respect they owed him as good and faithful subjects, she would give them security for their lives, their property, and their offices. They said also that the Duc d'Orléans and the Prince de Condé had said the same ; and also that the chancellor had invited them on their return to consult with him on the means of making a good peace ; but they had not entered into a discussion thereon, wishing to observe in all particulars the orders they had received from the Assembly.

Further deliberation was held upon this, and it was decreed that another deputation should be sent to Saint-Germain to thank the queen for the obliging words she had

said in their favour, and to render her an account of the envoy of the archduke.

It was about this time that the queen, who was making war on principle, and, according to the advice of the learned men whom she had consulted, was working in all kindness for peace, desired to do a purely charitable action and to follow the counsel that God himself has given us in the Gospel. In addition to the money which she often sent secretly to be distributed among the poor, she now sold some diamond earrings of great value, which she had never yet worn, and gave the proceeds to those who, in the streets of Paris, were daily vomiting imprecations against her.

I must here interrupt the history of this negotiation to mention the most horrible crime ever attempted, the most criminal action that men have ever committed, which our epoch has seen with horror, and which took place in England while our sovereign was engaged in putting down the rebellion of her subjects. This tale will cause amazement to coming races; and it was surely an evil omen for our queen, and for the peoples, who saw that the chastisement of God was about to fall upon the world in punishment for the injustice spread throughout it by impieties and crimes.

It seemed that divine justice threatened all the kings of Europe, inasmuch as it did not spare one of the most innocent, but fell upon the head of a great king, who was a good and kind prince, whose life was exempt from blame — except for a heresy which he had received from his fathers and of which his troubles seem to have been the result, just as the sin of Henry VIII. was their source. The zeal he had for religion showed his faith; and his good intentions seemed fitted to draw to him the mercy of God and the true light he needed to bring him out of darkness. But by an impenetrable decree of God he perished full of virtues; and

his end has shown us what a monster of cruelty is man when abandoned to his passions with neither piety nor true religion for his guide.

Never was anything more pitiable than the condition of the royal family of England. It was persecuted by its subjects, betrayed by those who owed everything to it; and those from whom it might justly expect assistance were forced to abandon it. The embarrassments of civil war which the queen now had upon her hands prevented her from succouring the King of England, to whom she was obliged and for whom she said she always retained much friendship, but to her deep regret, an unfruitful friendship; a state of things which was sure to cause shame and sorrow to a great queen like ours, whose good-will ought to be accompanied by power, to enable it to show in deeds rather than by words.

A few days after the horrible murder of the king, the Queen of England received false news that her husband had been taken from his prison to the scaffold, where they were about to behead him, but the populace opposed it. I think that Lord Germain, his minister, wished to prepare her by this fabulous tale for the fatal blow. The queen, as she told us this piteous incident, shed many tears, but took comfort in the thought that his people would save him, since they had thus begun to show feeling in his favour.

February 19, 1649, she received the horrible true news, and her misfortune could no longer be hidden from her. An affliction so great, so terrible, and now so certain, produced within her all the sentiments of sorrow she was capable of feeling. She suffered infinitely, but she did not die. She often told me herself that she wondered how it was she had survived the blow. She knew that life could never again be pleasant to her. She had lost a crown; but what she regretted

more was a good, just, virtuous husband, worthy of her affection and the love of his subjects. She had fallen into a deplorable position ; and from being the most opulent queen on earth she now saw before her, according to all appearances, a lifetime of poverty and afflictions which were enough to horrify her. She had ideas and noble sentiments, and was consequently able to see all that she had lost, and what she owed to the memory of a king who had loved her much, giving her his whole confidence and showing her extreme consideration. He shared his grandeur and his wealth with her ; it was therefore right that she should taste of his bitterness, and mourn all the days of her life for the day of his death. And she did, indeed, wear perpetual mourning on her person and in her heart, — as much, at least, as she was capable of ; for by nature her mind had more gaiety than gravity.

On the first day of her sorrow I did not have the honour of seeing her, because the violence of her grief made her invisible ; but the next day, having obtained by help of friends, a passport to go to Saint-Germain, I went to take leave of the sorrowing queen. As soon as she saw me she bade me kneel down beside her bed. Doing me the honour to give me her hand, with sobs which often interrupted her words, she ordered me to tell the queen the state in which she was, and to say, from her, that her lord the king, whose death would make her the unhappiest woman in the world, was lost solely because he never knew the truth : that she advised her not to irritate her subjects unless she had the power to quell them completely : that the people were a wild beast, and untamable : that the king, her husband, had experienced this, and she prayed God that the Queen of France might have better fortune than she herself had had in England : but, above all, she advised her to listen to those who

would tell her the truth ; to apply herself to discover the truth ; and to believe that the greatest evil that can happen to kings, and that which alone destroys their empires, is ignorance of it. She said that if I were faithful to the queen I ought to tell her these things and speak to her plainly about the state of her affairs, because it was the greatest service that I could render her ; and she ended with a compliment addressed to the queen, and certain orders which she gave to me regarding the interests of the Prince of Wales, now become king without a kingdom by the death of his father.

The Duke of York, her second son, fifteen years of age, after escaping from England as I have already said, had lately come from Holland to be with her. She desired for the two princes that the king and queen should recognize the Prince of Wales in France as King of England ; and should treat the second in the same manner as they had hitherto treated his elder brother. She commanded me to speak of this to the queen as from her ; then, pressing my hand, she said, with renewed sorrow full of great tenderness, that she had lost a king, a husband, a friend, whom she could never sufficiently mourn, and that this separation must necessarily be to her for the rest of her life an endless suffering.

I own that the tears of this princess touched me deeply. Besides the share I felt in her grief, my mind was struck by the words she commanded me to say to the queen, and the misfortunes she had caused me to fear for her. The state in which I believed her to be, and that in which France actually was, made a strong impression on me ; and I shall never forget the wise sayings of this queen, who, undeceived and taught by her own experience, seemed to presage for us in our country the greatest evils. Heaven willed to preserve us from them ; but as we deserved them all from the justice of God

we should render thanks for His mercy, and remember this great lesson to kings, and even to private individuals, namely : that a knowledge of the truth is necessary for the conduct of our lives.

On the same day, my sister and I, with our little footman, left Paris, escorted by a troop of cavalry of the Prince de Conti's regiment, commanded by Barrière, a gentleman attached to the service of the prince, who consequently had the misfortune to be counted among the enemies of the queen after having been one of her most faithful servants. We were received at Saint-Denis by the Comte Du Plessis, who commanded in place of the maréchal, his father. He gave us a good supper and good beds, and the next day we arrived safely at Saint-Germain. We had to make a great détour and pass through many villages, where we found the most frightful desolation. Houses were burned and pulled down, churches pillaged, and an image of the horrors of war was there painted in its actual truth.

I found the queen in her cabinet with the Duc d'Orléans, the Prince de Condé, the Princesse de Carignan, and a great throng. The Court was then very large, because all those who were not of the Fronde had gathered about the king. The queen's apartments were filled with not only the persons of the highest quality who composed the Court, but also a great number of soldiers, and I never saw there so many unknown faces. The queen was in the midst of this great concourse, apparently gay and tranquil. She did not seem to apprehend the evils with which, in the minds of persons of good sense, who judged of the future by past and present events, she was threatened. We must not include among these the malignant prophecies of those who sought to decry her conduct, and hoped, by intimidating her, to force her to dismiss her minister. Such persons did not deserve to be

listened to, and the apparent gaiety of the queen was intended to silence them. We cannot doubt this ; because, in the position in which she then was, it would be difficult, having the wisdom and reason that she possessed, to feel true gaiety.

When I left Paris, my heart was full of all that had been told me in that city. I believed that the queen was threatened with the loss of her crown, or at any rate, that of the regency. But, being at Saint-Germain, I was amazed when I heard jests and ridicule against the Parisians and the *frondeurs*, and against those who lamented the public misery. I could not see that any one feared the great party which seemed so formidable to the rest of Europe ; and in order not to be laughed at, I was forced to smile with those who turned into ridicule the most serious matters and scoffed at both parties, with no other thought than how to profit themselves by these troubles.

That night, after the queen had retired, she commanded me to tell her all that I knew of the state of Paris and the condition of people's minds. As I had real distress in my soul, I told her freely all that seemed to me contrary to her interests, not failing to repeat what the Queen of England had ordered me to say to her. It was supposed in Paris that the queen was ignorant of the state of its affairs ; that the minister was making her believe that the city was suffering extremely, and that the rebels would soon be reduced to cry for mercy. But the truth is, she was well-informed as to all that it was necessary she should know ; but wishing to punish, or at least, moderate the excessive audacity of parliament, and being, moreover, determined not to send away her minister, her resolutions were fixed, and public outcries were powerless to change them. She did me the honour to tell me, what she had already said to others and, I think, had written, that she

felt obliged to keep her minister, fearing lest the same thing happen to her that happened to the King of England, — namely, that after dismissing him, she herself would be attacked; that the princes, seeing her without a minister, would seek to give her one; and not being able to agree, as it was reasonable to suppose they would not, greater quarrels would arise than the present ones; and, moreover, that she chose to keep him not only because she was satisfied with his good intentions and his fidelity, but because she was convinced that in sustaining him she should re-establish the royal authority and keep herself from losing the regency. She added that the retention of the regency was desired by her out of affection for the king; and she did me the honour to say, with a sigh, that I knew myself she was not ambitious, and that rest would be more agreeable to her natural inclinations than power. Then she ended her remarks with these fine words: “She believed she was doing right, and should leave the rest to the guidance of God, hoping that in His mercy He would not abandon the innocence of the king, who, according to all appearances, still kept before his eyes the grace of baptism.”

I found her rather astonished at the message from the archduke, the falsity of which was still unknown to her. She was touched by the death of the King of England; and said it was a blow which ought to make all kings tremble; but as for herself, being convinced that she was doing as she ought to do and could not avoid doing, her mind was tranquil amid these various storms. In truth, her amiable temper, fortified by a soul which never allowed itself to be easily troubled, made her seem at Saint-Germain, surrounded by her armies, as much at peace as when among the ladies of her circle in Paris.

IV.

1649.

ON the 22d or 23d of February, the nuncio and the ambassador of Venice came to see the queen, one on the part of the pope, the other on that of his republic. During their audience they exhorted her forcibly to make peace, and touched, as she thought, rather too strongly, on what appeared to be the cause of the war. She was angry ; and interrupting them, said that she found many persons ready to tell her that peace ought to be made and everything pardoned ; but nobody spoke of restoring the authority of the king, her son, which would be destroyed if she did not strive to maintain it by punishing rebels and forcing them to return to their duty. She said she had a right to speak thus, because the consultations she had had on this point with the wisest men of learning and judgment, whose opinions she wished to follow, were proof enough of her desire for peace. But it seemed to her that her own obligations compelled her to labour first to replace France in a condition to profit by her kindness, which until then, through the perverse disposition of minds, had only made matters worse. This kindness was indeed greater within her and more effective than apparent, for she always tried to conceal it in order to make that of her minister more prominent.

February 25, the deputies arrived from Paris ; and the chief-president, who followed the example of the nuncio, was treated in the same manner. He was accustomed to speak with much boldness about the troubles of the State,

and the cardinal had always a place in his harangues, which were usually defamatory lampoons against him rather than statements to the queen. The one that he delivered on this occasion was like the rest. After having satisfied his party and most of his audience on the subject of the minister, he entreated the queen to put an end to the troubles, to give them peace, to return to Paris with the king, and thus restore happiness and joy.

But such boldness failed to rouse the Court to anger against the venerable magistrate. Cardinal Mazarin did with insults what Mithridates did with poison, which, instead of killing him, came at last through constant use to nourish him. They served him to acquire with the queen the merit of suffering for her sake and of being the victim of the unjust passions of the king's subjects; they also served to mask the friendship of his friends, who, in real truth, were not friends at all.

That evening, the chief-president and President de Mesmes came to see the queen as private persons, and they conferred in her cabinet, where the princes were, with the minister, in spite of the edict issued against him by parliament. Before leaving they made the queen hope for another deputation to discuss the peace in earnest, and they shrewdly asked her for provisions and wheat for as many days as the discussion should last, estimating for each day almost enough to supply Paris.

The queen did not grant their request, but gave them hopes that if they acted faithfully she would refuse them nothing that was reasonable. The deputies endeavoured, under prospects of peace, to obtain provisions, which were now getting dearer in Paris, and the people were beginning to suffer, though not enough to humble them. The queen, on her side, thought she did wisely in holding out hopes

that she would give them. She wanted to bring parliament, through the people's need, to consent to her will, and force the Parisian generals to the reconciliation which they now opposed with all their strength.

The deputies, having returned to Paris, made their report to parliament. The chief-president was blamed for having conferred with the cardinal without the other deputies; whereupon a great uproar and frightful cries arose in the Chamber, which spread from there to the people assembled in the great hall, the courtyard, and the streets. All were asking news of the deputation; and when the rumour ran that the chief-president had conferred with the minister the crowds became riotous and declared they would have no peace with Mazarin, and some proposed to go and pillage the president's house and punish him for wishing to negotiate with him. The *canaille* were paid for shouting against these preliminaries of peace. The *frondeurs*, who did not wish for peace, or rather wished that it should be made by them, stirred up this sedition against the president expressly to embarrass and intimidate him. But that magistrate, having already shown his firmness on several occasions, now made evident as much courage as before, and, without being startled, he told the Duc de Beaufort that it was his duty to pacify the tumult; otherwise the riot would become so great that he himself, not being able to master it, would have reason to grieve over the great evils he would thus have caused the city. Many of the most important men in parliament united with the president in saying this.

The duke, the leader in the outcry, was at last compelled, in order to avoid a greater evil than seeing Mazarin again in Paris, to go himself and pacify the riot. He assured the populace that they were not being deceived, and told them that he himself would drive out Mazarin. The uproar

being thus appeased, parliament resolved to send more deputies to Court (seven from each Chamber) to negotiate the peace; which gave some hope to right-minded persons and made the queen believe that matters would go as she desired. She could not imagine that the deputies would dare to ask her for what they knew positively she would never grant.

As the chief-president, after making this stand, left the gallery of the Palais de Justice to return to his own house, a great multitude of scoundrels came up to attack him. One of them having threatened to kill him, the grave magistrate said to him coldly, "My friend, when I am dead I shall only want six feet of ground," and, without quickening his steps, walked on to his own house, well satisfied at having brought about the second deputation.

If he was satisfied the generals were not; another deputation displeased them immensely. They saw that the leaders in parliament inclined towards the Court; that they themselves were not masters of the party, and that peace would not be, as they chose, the price of their ambition and their desires. But they consoled themselves by resolving that no one should be appointed to negotiate with the Court but those of whom they were sure, and by this means they still hoped that the negotiation would depend upon their will.

March 2, the king's lawyers came to Saint-Germain to tell the queen of the deputation ordered by the parliament. They asked her for passports, and entreated her to name the place for the conference. Also they made some solicitation on the part of the Ducs de Beaufort and de Bouillon to be admitted to the said conference; but though well received as to the deputation itself, they were refused in the matter of the dukes. The château de Ruel was chosen as the place of meeting that being half-way between Paris and Saint-

Germain; and the generals, who were especially eager in soliciting, were not admitted.

The Duc d'Orléans, the Prince de Condé, the cardinal, the Abbé de Rivière, and Le Tellier went to the rendezvous, where the deputies had already arrived with an express order from parliament not to confer with Cardinal Mazarin. The Court had been previously informed of this, and the son of the chief-president, who had brought word of it by order of parliament, was treated with much apparent rigour. They even set guards upon him for a time to let the minister's enemies see that the proposal was odious to the queen and would be resisted by the princes of the blood. But this did not prevent the deputies from absolutely refusing to confer with him; which caused great embarrassment to both sides, and much mortification, no doubt, to him who was the subject of it.

The evening of the day that the princes went to Ruel I was with the queen, who awaited with impatience the issue of this dispute, without, however, letting those about her share it. Chamarante, the king's head *valet-de-chambre*, arrived very late from Ruel to let her know that the conference was broken up; then, coming quite close to her, he whispered in her ear the true reason. The queen, who did not choose to show that she felt or saw the affront which parliament thus put upon her minister, began to laugh, and said to us: "There is no conference; consequently no peace,—so much the worse for them."

While these difficulties were putting a stop to the conference, the generals, who had no share, except through cabals, in the meeting, came out and camped with cannon at Villejuif, threatening Mazarin and declaring him the source of invincible difficulties. They wanted to make him fear the hatred of the people, of whom they claimed to be the masters in spite of parliaments and treaties. The thing that must

have caused uneasiness to the minister was the fact that parliament seemed to approve of the sentiments of the populace and the generals, inasmuch as the deputies refused so firmly to open their lips before him on a matter of so much benefit to themselves.

The next day, as they were about to separate on account of this difficulty, the Duc d'Orléans, always desirous to play his part in peace as the Prince de Condé played his in war found a means of conciliation, namely: that neither he nor the prince should be present at the conference. It was therefore resolved that the two should sit apart, and the cardinal with them, leaving only the chancellor and Le Tellier to confer, satisfied that a room between them and the conference would not hinder them from having a share in it.

All that day the parliament people were haughty, and those persons who came from Ruel to Saint-Germain did not believe that matters could be adjusted, for by the manner in which the deputies spoke it was certain they would be intractable on the subject of the minister. But this ferocity proved to be an outward show of appearances intended to satisfy fools, hot-headed persons, and the populace. The deputies changed their method the next day, and showed that on breathing the air of a Court its charm had as much power upon them as upon other men. Nevertheless, the Parisians, under orders from the generals and parliament, continued to sell publicly Cardinal Mazarin's property, which, after the decree issued against him, had been put up at auction to all comers at any price they chose to give; and his library, collected with great care, was dispersed among as many as chose to pillage it.

March 6, the cardinal made a little trip from Ruel to Saint-Germain to inform the queen of what was happening.



Philippe de Champaigne

Maréchal de Turenne

That evening, after he had gone, as those about her were curious to hear the news, the queen said to Beringhen and me that nothing was yet done, and there was no solid hope of obtaining what was desired — which was that parliament should humble itself. But she added that, in the end, she believed that all would go right. The deputies declared they had received fresh orders from parliament to demand the dismissal of the minister; and the Duc d'Orléans had been obliged to go often to the conference to defend the cardinal when attacked. But the dispute really ended in a comedy cleverly played; for those who demanded the removal of the minister knew very well they could not obtain it, and, as I have already said, they did not greatly desire it.

During this conference news arrived which changed the resolutions of many persons, increased the forces of the king, and lessened somewhat the pride and arrogance of the Parisians. The Vicomte de Turenne, who commanded the army of the king in Germany, but had recently declared for the parliamentary side because his brother, the Duc de Bouillon, belonged to it, on attempting to bring his troops to the assistance of the Parisians, had been deserted by the whole army, which determined to be faithful to the king and marched to join Erlac, a German in the service of France. Only two or three regiments remained with Turenne, and on them he dared not rely; seeing himself therefore without power, he retired, confounded and repentant, to Heilbrun. The same night that the minister made his trip to Saint-Germain, the Prince de Condé sent him a letter he had received from the Vicomte de Turenne, who, unhappy and humiliated, asked pardon for his fault. In this letter he entreated the prince to continue to him his protection and to obtain from the minister forgiveness and absolution for his crime.

This news discouraged for a time the parliamentary forces and the generals, for they had great hopes in that army. This assistance having failed them, the cardinal thought he should now have such an advantage over his adversaries that the re-establishment of his authority could be easily brought about. He began, therefore, to recover his audacity ; but his enemies, in spite of this piece of ill-luck, did not in the least diminish theirs. The coadjutor, anxious to conceal this bad news from the Parisians as long as possible, appeared before parliament on the same day, and, in an eloquent harangue, offered it the troops which Turenne no longer had, — an offer which served to satisfy the Parisians, ill-informed of the truth.

The minister, full of hope and joy, returned to Ruel ; he found his enemies well-disposed, but not as submissive as he expected. There were hours when the prospects of peace changed to prospects of war, and yet, in spite of these frequent variations, it was easy to judge that what was wished by both parties could not fail to come about.

The generals, wanting to support their interests by some means, bethought them of issuing an order suspending the negotiations on the ground that the queen had failed to give the hundred hogsheads of wheat which she had promised for every day that the conference lasted. The queen, having expected it to last but three days, had promised only three hundred hogsheads ; and the minister had justly cut them off, fearing lest the time spent at Ruel would only serve to give the city fresh strength to hold out against the king. According to this prudent reasoning he had thought proper to put a stop to the royal liberality, and as the three days had gone by, the conference still continuing, and no more wheat arrived, a great outcry arose in Paris.

The deputies, alarmed by the order of the generals, sent a

complaint to the queen that she had failed to give the hogs-heads of wheat, which they claimed had been promised for the whole period of the negotiation; and they told the princes they had no power to continue it and must have permission to leave. On which the Prince de Condé replied haughtily: "Very well, messieurs, as you have no power, go! — I think you will soon be forced to come back."

After the deputies had taken leave and left the room where the princes were, the Duc d'Orléans said to the Prince de Condé: "Cousin, if those men carry this along till spring they will join the archduke and form a party dangerous to the State; it will be our turn then to humble ourselves. At the present moment we hold them; let us profit by the occasion and make peace."

The deputies, on their side, who had no desire to go away, showed that if some conciliation were shown to them they would not be reluctant to remain. It was therefore settled that the deputies should send to Paris to assure their party that the wheat would be delivered to them, and at the same time beg the assembly to approve of their continuing their useful labours. All these conferences had so favourable a success that on the morning of March 11 the Maréchal de Villeroy, who had received letters from Ruel, came to assure the queen that all was going well; and at midday a courier arrived from the minister informing her that peace was certain, that all the articles were agreed to on both sides, and it was ready for signature.

The generals of Paris were invited to take part in the treaty. They were given four days to decide on this course; the Duc de Longueville had eight (because he was then at a distance), with hopes that secret articles likely to satisfy him would be granted; and the other generals were allowed to hope for certain favours. This great conspiracy thus un-

done, on the evening of that same day peace was signed and the queen received the news with much joy.

It may be said that she was almost the only person who liked this blessing in its whole magnitude. The bitterness that many private individuals felt in their souls at seeing that the war had not ended by removing what they believed to be the real evil was so great that the comfort of peace and repose did not wholly satisfy them. Their imaginations were full of such hatred of the minister's conduct, which was to them odious and seemed to them so contemptible, that the greatest benefits with him could not be agreeable. Their aversion to him was like a crystal which changes objects, through which they saw their evils magnified and their blessings diminished; and his avarice gave them reason to fear that once re-established in his former power it would become more intolerable than ever.

Many persons must have wished, however, as I have already said, to keep him. All those in a position to make themselves feared could come to better terms with him than with a firmer man. Lesser people also had great advantages; they could find means to be necessary to his interests and his service, and he gave them the dignities usually reserved for old officers and those who in war or in legal matters had spent their lives in the king's service. In proof of this the armies were now commanded by lieutenant-generals who in the days of our fathers would have been sent to a regiment of the Gardes to be taught their profession. He was also useful to the great seigneurs, to whom he was prodigal of honours. Such benefits cost him nothing to bestow, for he valued them much less than money; and his enemies, who wrung from him by force all that they desired, had good reason to value his weakness and his benefactions.

With all these qualities, so accommodating to the am-

bitious and the ill-regulated desires of the human mind, he was hated at Court; and if the courtiers did not wholly desire his overthrow, it may at least be said that every Frenchman despised him. This contempt was the fashion, and this fashion, which had more of passion than of reason in it, occupied all minds. It deprived them of the moderation necessary to sober men who ought to make equitable judgments. No one was willing to praise the good qualities that really were in him. His intelligence, his clemency, his great ability, found no tongues in those days that dared to speak in their favour. Even his servants, who knew him more intimately, often attributed to timidity that which seemed good in him. But, notwithstanding his defects and the mutterings which always attack favour and power, those who are willing to consider what was good in him will infallibly give it praise. The degradation to which fortune reduced him and the great elevation which afterwards adorned his destiny will fill his life with brilliant fame; and these extraordinary events, which have caused us to wonder, will hereafter make him share the immortality of the most illustrious men.

There were still some difficulties in signing the peace, because the deputies, to preserve their credit in Paris, made signs of opposing the part which the cardinal, as prime minister, properly had in it. The Duc d'Orléans was forced to let them see that he absolutely insisted that the minister should sign the articles with them; and, after making this remonstrance, they consented. This little farce over, the deputies softened towards the cardinal visibly, and thus showed agreement as to the respect they owed to the will of the king, queen, and princes.

They all returned to Saint-Germain to announce the end of the civil war, at which some persons, besides those filled

with the general hatred of which I have just spoken, were much vexed. The Princesse de Condé was of the number; seeing that this great work was done without the participation of her son the Prince de Conti and her daughter Madame de Longueville, she could not refrain from showing her vexation. And those who had relatives and friends in that party were in despair, because they saw the bad position in which they were left by this conclusion of the war, from which they had hoped for the destruction of the minister and great personal advantages to themselves.

This consternation became so general that some were rash enough to say publicly that the peace was not advantageous, that the war had better have continued, and that the king's duty was to punish a rebellion of his subjects. Without daring to tell the true cause of their vexation, they went about giving false reasons for condemning the peace, and concealing their real grievance. They tried to appear zealous for the State and affected to be great statesmen, when in truth they were only moved by passions and hatred. I must not forget to notice here the disinterested firmness of the Prince de Condé, who, without considering his family or his friends, went straight for the interests of the king; and if the Duc d'Orléans had acted with the same force, peace would have been made with more glory.

After the deputies had paid their respects to the queen, they returned to Paris escorted by the Maréchal de Gramont. There they were ill-received and ill-treated. Peace with Mazarin had no charm for Parisians, and it displeased those who governed them. Many, won over by the generals, rushed, shouting, to parliament, declaring that sooner than consent to the enemy of good Frenchmen remaining in France they wanted war.

On Saturday, March 13, parliament assembled to examine

the articles of peace. The generals made a great uproar, and loudly complained of the deputies, who had signed the treaty without awaiting their consent. The factions were so strongly on the side of the generals that the chief-president was unable to make his report on the deputation to the Assembly; and all sides reproached him for abandoning his party. In reply he reminded them that they had been negotiating with the foreign enemy while the deputation was at Ruel; and that this proceeding marked the difference in their sentiments, for while the deputation was working for peace by their consent, they were working for war secretly; and he declared to them that his intention was to prefer the public good to private hatreds.

This reproach was just; for they had sent again to the archduke and to Madame de Chevreuse in Flanders, to endeavour to get assistance for their party outside of parliament, which they saw was about to abandon them. The generals and those of their faction replied to this charge that they had taken that step with the consent of some of the Assembly; on which the chief-president, full of courage and zeal for the good of the nation, said boldly: "Name those persons, and we will indict them for the crime of *lèse-majesté*."

The populace, meanwhile, was making its usual uproar round the Palais de Justice. Hearing that the cardinal had signed the treaty of peace, some of the *canaille*, paid to do evil, bethought them of sending to the public executioner to come and burn up the treaty, which they declared they would never allow; threatening, in their accustomed manner, to kill the chief-president. But he, who was used to such amenities, took little notice of them, and sent a message to the burghers to take up arms and maintain the treaty made by them; he told them they had an interest in the public

peace and ought now to show themselves worthy men. They obeyed him, and the generals found themselves much hampered by their resistance. This was the cause of redoubled councils held at Mme. de Longueville's bedside. This princess, like the rest of her party, was much dissatisfied with the bad state of their affairs, and neglected nothing to better it.

The next day parliament assembled to ratify this treaty and endeavour to bring about the repose of France, in spite of the troubles which agitated her. But the factions were so strong and the difficulties so great that the Assembly remained in session till six in the evening, in a state of continual dispute. At last, at ten o'clock, Saintôt arrived at Saint-Germain, while the queen was supping, to tell her that the treaty was accepted on condition that the same deputies should come before her to treat of the interests of the princes and others of their party, and to make very humble remonstrances on certain articles of the treaty which they asked to have revoked.

The generals, who had made themselves masters of Paris, and felt themselves sufficiently powerful to restrain the better minds from doing what their duty imposed upon them, having no confidence in the deputation of parliament, requested the queen and minister to allow them to send deputies on their own behalf. This being granted, they appointed the Duc de Brissac, Barrière, and Créci, to present their demands and claims. These emissaries arrived at Saint-Germain March 18, and by their paper of instructions they appeared to demand all France.

The queen was overwhelmed with grief, and did me the honour to tell me the same day that she could not endure without horror that men who had endeavoured to dethrone the king her son (those were her very words) should now de-

mand rewards, when they deserved punishment and chastisement for their crimes. Nor was the minister more satisfied. The hydra, which he was incessantly fighting without being able to overthrow it completely, embarrassed him much. But as these demands were the price of his ransom and the repurchase of his power, he consoled himself for being compelled to grant them, not doubting that, by remaining in office, he should some day have the means of vengeance and punishment in his own hands.

Those who had real reason to complain were the worthy persons belonging to the Court, who were deprived of rewards which they felt they deserved for their fidelity. They now saw all the favours falling on the heads of the criminals of *lèse-majesté*, while those who had always been zealous in the king's service could hope for nothing by following honourable ways which they had no desire to quit. Anger filled their hearts the more bitterly because they were forced to exhibit apparent joy. In fact, it was incumbent to feel a real joy for a peace that was needful to the welfare of France, which, unable to maintain at the same time civil war and foreign war, was about to be ruined by a general rebellion of the people and the lack of power the parliaments had to control it, the armies of the enemy being already on the frontier ready to profit by our convulsions.

So many claims and pretensions to satisfy embarrassed the minister extremely; as fast as he granted favours, whether to assemblies or to individuals, new claimants and pretenders sprang up with fresh demands; and the trouble increased instead of diminishing. The fault committed was in raising the blockade of Paris. The queen's charity forced her to do so. This was noble and to be respected; but it destroyed all means of threatening the city with famine. It was now absolutely necessary to serve the king by impover-

ishing him, and to gain peace for the kingdom by ways very contrary to the good of the State.

The generals were full of distrust for one another; to their insatiable desires they now added jealousy. Each had underhand emissaries at Saint-Germain, who negotiated for them individually, and tyrannized over him who still hoped to tyrannize over them in return. The Duc de Beaufort was not content with what was secretly offered to him. He demanded much because he still felt in his heart the proud swellings that remained of his former favour. He wanted the minister to pay him for his fetters and his imprisonment. He talked arrogantly; he said aloud that he would have no compromise with Mazarin. Carrying his resentment further than others, he made conciliation more difficult. This arrogance caused peace to be made without him, and he was left with no consolation but that of having treated his enemy with much haughtiness; which made one see in him a certain grandeur of soul that had some beauty. Desiring to defend himself to the last extremity, he sought to rouse a fresh storm by getting a decree issued which enjoined the deputies to insist on the cardinal being dismissed by the queen. But this was of no service to him. Public interest carried the day over personal interests. The leaders of the party were now satisfied, and others who were not remained in the condition of disappointed persons and enemies of the queen. They were destined in the end to make her suffer what Heaven had ordained for her by decrees more irrevocable than those of parliament.

The coadjutor, — the spirit that moved a great portion of this body, — having done more harm than any one, would be likely to gain the highest rewards; but at this time he was generous enough to ask only for his friends. He had lofty

ideas; for himself he desired only lustre and notoriety; his object being to make important connections which would increase his reputation and his fame. His principal aim was to govern either the State or those who sought to destroy it, and to have a leading part in the great blessings or the great evils that might befall it. He obtained for his friends, the Marquis de Noirmoutiers and Laigues, considerable favours and very solid benefits. The Marquis de Vitri was made a duke, which he did not deserve, on this occasion. The Duc d'Elbœuf, the Duc de Bouillon, and all the others, having each snatched some fine portion of the royal liberality, came to the resolution of allowing peace to be made; and thus it was the king who received that blessing from his subjects, after paying dearly for it.

Peace, however, gave some repose to the queen, some joy to the minister, and some pain to his enemies. The month of March saw the end of the war which had caused much harm to France, and had not done much good to the king, or satisfied wholly the desires of the queen, who could have wished less suffering to the people generally, and more humiliation to individuals, especially to those she blamed as the cause of all these troubles, and of all that the State had suffered in consequence.

The devotions of Holy Week took place in the chapel of Saint-Germain, where the true piety of the queen and a small number of good souls was mingled with the gallantry and irreligion of all the other persons who composed the Court, and who made it their glory to care for nothing but vanity, ambition, self-interest, and pleasure.

Easter being over, the deputies of the parliaments of Paris and Normandy came to thank the queen for the peace she had given them. The clergy came also, and all the guilds

of the city, the merchants and trades, according to their several orders; all with contented faces, and all requesting ardently the return of the king to his good city of Paris.

The queen had no reason to consider it so good as to have any great desire to return to it. She knew that the populace still talked with insolence and declared publicly that nothing should be paid to the king unless he returned soon; and she also knew there were *canaille* bold enough to say in the streets that they would have no Mazarin. These savage spirits were so used to rebellion and riots that it was difficult, without resort to exemplary punishment, to make them resume the habit of respecting legitimate power. To give time to extinguish the fire still flashing up in their minds, and let the remaining heat and smoke evaporate, the queen resolved not to return to the city immediately. She decided that as soon as she had received her reconciled enemies at Saint-Germain, she would spend a certain time at Compiègne.

The finances were still in the hands of the Maréchal de La Meilleraye, though it was openly said of him that he was better fitted for making conquest with armies than for making money with his pen. Cardinal Richelieu, his relative, had, in the days of his power, given him distinguished employments, and as he himself added courage and good conduct to favour, he had done fine actions; but, as I have said elsewhere, his temper was perverse and irritable. He was not capable in matters of finance and business; every one complained of him, saying that the people, being still unsubmitive, were trying under cover of rebellion to escape the taxes, imposts, and *tailles*, and that a man who better understood the method of forcing them to pay was needed. It seemed, therefore, necessary for the king's service to remove him from the finances and give that office to a more patient, vigilant, experienced, and healthier man than he. He was

gouty, and without having years enough to reach old age, his body was more broken than that of many who were over eighty. His hands and feet were helpless, and he often had plasters over his whole person; in fact, they were his usual decoration. Still he was an honourable man, a good friend, and lived, in every way, as a great seigneur.

He had a young and beautiful wife, the daughter of the Duc de Brissac. Her beauty lay in the delicacy of her features, the charm of her face, and her fine figure. She was virtuous, but had too great a desire that every one should know it. She noised abroad her virtue in a thousand little external ways, which would have been a great defect in others, but in her was less blamed because it was mingled with a natural charm which made all her actions seem loveable. She was so afraid it would be thought that she did not love her husband because of his diseases that she went about telling every one that she did not believe there was any man exempt from such infirmities. She declared that she thought him handsome and he pleased her taste; and when she was away from him she tried to convince others that she wearied at not seeing him. It is not an impossible thing for a virtuous woman to love a diseased and gouty husband who has merit and fine qualities and by whom she is loved: but this affectation caused her hearers not to believe her; and as solid virtue is sincere and natural, her artificial ways convinced others to the contrary of what she wished to prove.

She was rather grieved that he was forced to give up the finances, because she feared it would take her from Court; but being ambitious she was soon consoled by the great advantages he obtained in losing them. The Duc d'Orléans and the cardinal went to visit him and agreed to give him all the favours he desired. He asked for a place in the

king's council; the succession to his governments of a son by his first wife, and also the succession to his office of grand-master of artillery. This affair was kept secret for a time, and executed later; we shall then see d'Émery returning to occupy his former place, with the applause of his friends and in spite of the hatred of his enemies. The latter did all they could to prevent it; but his rivals saw him bear away the victory finally. He was re-established in office with great satisfaction on his part, for he had felt his dismissal as a man much attached to the world who had little love or respect for Him who is its creator and sovereign master.

The Prince de Conti was the first to come out from Paris to pay his respects to the queen. He was presented by the Prince de Condé, and received in presence of the council. After the usual compliments the Prince de Condé made his brother embrace Cardinal Mazarin, and warmed up their conversation as much as he could. The Prince de Conti did not go to visit the cardinal on this occasion, in order to keep some little distance between war and peace, and the Prince de Condé made this neglect acceptable to the queen.

The Duc d'Orléans presented the Duc d'Elbœuf; and the Prince de Conti, having made his own obeisance, was the one who presented the rest, namely: the Duc de Bouillon, the Prince de Marsillac, the Comte de Maure, and many others. The queen received them rather coldly. The minister, on the contrary, played his usual rôle of gentleness and moderation, telling them that he was conscious of having done wrong to them, and they were excusable for having resented it.

On the same day Madame de Chevreuse, notified of the peace by her friends, arrived in Paris. As she had played a part in the public wrong-doing, she now wished a share in the general pardon. She had obtained for the rebels the protection of the archduke, which had served to support their

forces against the king. It was just that she should be rewarded for this trouble while all the others were being rewarded for theirs. Having arrived in Paris from Brussels she sent to negotiate with the minister, who, according to his wont, did not rebuff her; he only wished to mortify her by a slight delay. By his advice the queen refused the Duc de Chevreuse, who came to Saint-Germain to ask permission for his wife to live in Paris. She told him that she could not allow her to remain in a city still full of the spirit of rebellion; that his wife had made countless cabals against her service, and it was impossible that she should be content with her or satisfied by her submission until she let her see a true repentance by her conduct. The duke, who was eighty years of age and very deaf, still made a good appearance; he tried to answer for the fidelity of his wife; but the queen ridiculed it, thinking that his word was no guarantee, and letting him know pretty plainly that she thought he had no great power over his wife.

I was present at this conversation. The duke told the queen that he had found his daughter, Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, much improved in beauty, and that she had eyes capable of inflaming the whole earth. The queen smiled and replied, shouting with all her might, that he had too much love for beauty and he ought to begin now to love heaven and virtue. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse was really beautiful; she had fine eyes, a beautiful mouth, and a charming shape to her face; but she was thin and not fair enough to be a great beauty. No doubt she was not improved since the disgrace of her mother which took them from Court; for it is seldom that years embellish women who are past eighteen.

The Duc d'Orléans made a visit of two days to Paris, and was received with great honours. Parliament having consulted its registers found that it had once before sent a

deputation to a Duc d'Orléans, lieutenant-general of the State and crown of France; and accordingly two presidents and six counsellors were sent in a body to visit him and return thanks to him for having contributed so much to the peace. To please the queen, he begged Madame de Chevreuse to leave Paris; telling her she would oblige the queen to treat her well if she thus showed her she had no desire to profit by the bad state to which the spirit of the Fronde had reduced the capital. But she, who knew by experience that the queen no longer respected her, would do nothing of the kind. She continued her negotiation with the minister; and as he made public profession of kindness and the desire to pardon his enemies, she got from him what she wanted, and even did so easily.

The Prince de Condé also went to Paris, but was not received with the same acclaim as the Duc d'Orléans. He was thought more indifferent to peace and more keen for combat; consequently he was not so well treated. But in order not to make a marked difference between the two, one president and two counsellors were deputed to pay him the same compliments. In the explanations which he had with Madame de Longueville, she strove earnestly to detach him from the interests of the queen. She made him comprehend that he was wrong to sever himself from his family, which could be more useful to his grandeur. He saw that the Prince de Conti was obtaining great advantages at Court; he felt that Madame de Longueville, who had guided the latter to this result, was worthy of being listened to, and could be useful to him in many grand respects. In short, he was pleased and captured by the flattering illusions of the princess; and blood, added to policy, bound him to her by fresh ties.

This renewal of friendship and confidence led insensibly

to the formation in the prince's soul of sentiments quite other than those he had had in the past ; and, little by little, he began to speak of Mazarin with the same contempt that the *frondeurs* felt for him. This was the origin of the change that later appeared in his conduct, and caused his haughty and harsh manner in dealing with the queen and her minister. It produced in the end those great revolutions at Court which caused such violent disorders throughout the kingdom and in the royal family.

The coadjutor meanwhile kept in his own intrenchments, and would not go to Saint-Germain like the rest. Thinking it proper, however, to appear in the distance, he begged the Duc de Liancourt to offer his respects to the queen and assure her that he was her most faithful servant, who would always regard her as his benefactress and mistress. The queen received his compliments with contempt, and ordered his ambassador to tell him that she should never consider him as such ; for, in the first place, he was not a friend to Cardinal Mazarin, her minister ; and she chose that all those who were under obligations, like himself, should follow her sentiments in this respect. Nevertheless the coadjutor, as I have already said, was in treaty with the minister, from whom he had received many favours for his friends, and promises on his own account which, in time, took effect.

The Duc de Longueville arrived from Normandy with a great suite. He came to pay his respects to the queen, who received him very gravely. I noticed that this prince seemed almost speechless, unable to say a word of any meaning. He was a man of great worth. He saw that it was shameful in him to have done this wrong against the service of the king and queen, towards whom he had no grounds of complaint ; and also that he had fallen into this error more from thoughtlessness than conviction. When he arrived every one

gathered around the queen to hear what he would say to her; for it is difficult to defend a bad cause. He did not have the boldness to speak at all. He turned pale, then red, and that was the whole of his harangue. After that eloquent repentance, he bowed to Cardinal Mazarin, and the next moment the two retired to a window; where they talked together for a long time; after which they visited each other and continued, apparently, to be friends.

Madame de Longueville and her step-daughter, Mademoiselle de Longueville also appeared at Court. The latter had been, like the rest, a great *frondeuse*. She had virtue and much intelligence, and was pardonable for having followed the sentiments of her father. When these princesses arrived the queen was in bed, resting after all her fatigues. I had the honour of being alone with her, and, at the moment, she was speaking to me of the embarrassment the Duc de Longueville had shown when saluting her. Hearing that Madame de Longueville was coming in I rose, — for I was on my knees by the bed, — and placed myself beside the queen, resolved not to leave, but to listen close at hand, and see if this princess always so clever, would be more eloquent than her husband. As she was naturally shy and liable to blush, all her cleverness did not save her from embarrassment on approaching the queen. I leaned forward between these two illustrious personages enough to be able to know what they said; but I heard nothing except “Madame” and a few words uttered so low that the queen, who was listening intently, could not understand them.

Mademoiselle de Longueville, after the obeisance of her step-mother, contented herself with kissing the queen’s cheek without opening her lips. Then, seating themselves on chairs which were brought to them, they seemed very glad when I began the conversation by asking Madame de Longue

ville at what hour she left Paris, — for it was then not two o'clock in the afternoon; and to relieve the confusion that they felt, which evidently embarrassed them, I enlarged upon their rapid trip. This conversation, in which frivolous matters alone were mentioned, and the whole visit so stiffly carried on, only served to increase the queen's resentment against the princess, who by taking no pains to please her only displeased her. It also confirmed Madame de Longueville in the evil intentions she retained in her heart against the queen. Because, when ill-will exists and those who do not like each other make no explanation on the subjects they have mutually to complain of, silence increases enmity, and prevents it from ever ceasing.

About the same time occurred the reconciliation with the Duc de Vendôme, who had not come to Court since he had been driven from it by the establishment of Cardinal Mazarin. He had profited through all these disorders, by showing that he did not approve of the audacious proceedings of his son, the Duc de Beaufort, and he now desired extremely to become the friend of the minister. To mark this desire he proposed the marriage of his son, the Duc de Mercœur, with the eldest Mancini, niece of the cardinal. This proposal was not refused; it was advantageous to the minister and could give great conveniences to the prince, who desired its accomplishment as a means of returning to favour. The civil war, in which the cardinal was so maltreated, had proved in one way not displeasing to him. He found that the gift of offices and alliances strengthened him and put him in a better position to defend himself without continually begging the protection of the Duc d'Orléans and the Prince de Condé. In changing his conduct he became even more self-seeking than heretofore, and the ill turns of his enemies made him desire to make himself feared by those of whom he had hitherto

been afraid. For these reasons he now treated the Duc de Vendôme as a friend; and the duke was received by the queen also with every demonstration of good-will.

The Prince de Condé was beginning to be disgusted with the conduct of the minister, whose enemies still decried him. He was, as I have just said, urged by his family to enter their schemes for the purpose of making himself master of the Court, instead of being, as they said he was, the cardinal's valet. Madame de Longueville made use of this union between the minister and the Duc de Vendôme to make her brother loathe the intercourse which until then he had kept up with him. She told him that this new alliance was an indubitable sign that the cardinal had ceased to regard him as his chief support, and was taking another protection than his own at Court; and it was to be feared that the Duc de Vendôme, becoming by this marriage a connection of the minister, would be more considered than any one by the king and queen.

These arguments, presented by a sister whom he had greatly loved, were weapons that combated in the prince's heart the inclination he felt to peace and the avoidance of a quarrel with the Court. He, who would have been in despair if any one had supposed he was being governed, now allowed himself to be led by the princess, his sister, into that which he would never have done of his own motion.

Shortly after these events I left the queen to make a little trip to Paris. I found the city still full of the spirit of rebellion which had so lately occupied it wholly; and, without being a wizard, I readily foresaw that the peace would be of short duration.

At the same time, March 13, the queen started for Compiègne to bring order into affairs of the frontier. Her stay at Compiègne served to relax her mind from all these

cares which had troubled her repose. The forest and the river, the two adornments of the little town, gave her many agreeable hours and much amusement to the king and Monsieur, who, being still too young to take part in the troubles of the State, thought only of pleasure wherever they were.

During this little interval of pleasure the Duc and Duchesse de Vendôme, who wished for the alliance with the cardinal, did all they could to induce the Duc de Beaufort to agree to his brother's marriage with the eldest Mancini; but this he refused to do, although to satisfy him they offered him the government of Auvergne. About this time, having returned to Paris, I met him one day at the house of his sister, the Duchesse de Nemours. He told me they were tricking him, for, at the very time when they were offering him that government, they were trying to give it to the Duc d'Elbœuf in exchange for that of Picardy, which the cardinal wanted to regain. But, as that exchange was never made, I think the Duc de Beaufort was deceived, or pretended to be, in order to avoid a reconciliation; wishing, apparently, either more than was offered to him, or nothing at all, in order to remain in a condition of wanting everything.

A few days later the duke fell ill of so violent a colic that he thought he was poisoned, and ostentatiously took a counter-poison; which shows his intention of rousing the affection of the people of Paris in his behalf. He had more need of antidotes against his former connections than against any beverage he might have taken. For it must be said that Cardinal Mazarin never seemed to us to wish to use evil means to rid himself of his enemies; and no favourite raised to the highest power a subject could attain ever showed more gentleness and clemency than he. Thus we saw him visibly protected by God — an evident sign to all men that, being the

Creator, He hates those who shed blood, and preserves the peace-makers.

The people of Paris went to see the sick prince, and the crowd was so great that it was necessary to open all the doors of his chamber, raise the curtains of his bed, and expose him to the sight of the populace. This great concourse, and the flatteries of a few friends made him finally irreconcilable with the minister. He thought he was doing an heroic action in not being reconciled; and the adulations of those who wanted to have a leader in him kept him from being as well satisfied by the Court as he might have been.

May 27, I went to join the queen at Compiègne. I made this little journey because it was difficult to live with comfort in Paris on account of the continual disputes I was forced to have with her enemies. They blamed her incessantly for the protection she gave to her minister, and could not understand that it would be unjust and dangerous in its consequences if sovereigns should let their subjects feel they would do their will. The path of disobedience and rebellion is always criminal. If the queen had been a little more jealous of her own authority and power, and if she had been contented to merely support her minister and use his ability without affecting, as she usually did, to take no part in anything, she would have won a more brilliant reputation than that of the most respected queens. But her indifference led her to disregard the glory of governing herself a great kingdom, and to hide what was fine in her resistance to rebellion. Time alone has revealed that the best and boldest resolutions came, in a great measure, from her prudence and firmness.

The Princesse de Condé went to Paris to see her daughter, Madame de Longueville, and rejoin her family. It was thought that she imbibed a little of their sentiments be-

cause she fancied that the queen had sneered at her grief when the Prince de Conti left Saint-Germain, and had felt some distrust of her. In this I think she was mistaken; for one day when I was speaking to the queen of the Princesse de Condé, and saying, what was true, that on arriving in Paris I had found her very sad, as much on matters that concerned her Majesty's interests as on those that concerned Mme. de Longueville, the queen did me the honour to reply that it was true she felt obliged to her, and saw plainly that, in spite of her love for her children, she had felt their separation from Court as much because she thought it contrary to their duty to the king as because of the evil consequences to themselves. Adding that she did not think it strange she should keep up her intercourse with them, because she could never readily suspect her of want of fidelity.

Nevertheless, the history of those times seems to say that the Princesse de Condé, charmed with the lofty reputation attained by Madame de Longueville, acted in concert with her (though she did not know all her secrets) to endeavour to disgust the Prince de Condé with the alliance he had hitherto maintained with the queen and her minister. The marriage the cardinal now wished to make offended her natural inclinations, because the house of Vendôme was always inimical to that of Condé. And some confidential friends of Madame de Longueville told me that the Prince de Condé, on leaving his family in Paris to go to Bourgogne, told them that he had so far done his duty in supporting Cardinal Mazarin because he had promised to do so; but that in future, if matters took another turn, he would see what he ought to do.

He went to Compiègne to take leave of the queen before going to Bourgogne; and when he left her, she, knowing all

that was going on, said to him openly that she believed they parted good friends, and felt assured their friendship would always remain as perfect as it had been ever since her regency; adding that it ought to be so in spite of those who desired the contrary. As the speeches of kings and their actions are nearly always disapproved, many persons blamed the queen for speaking in this way, because it made what was a little disagreement too public, and gave reason to think that it was true that the prince was really seeking to separate from her.

The minister, wishing to give some attention to the preservation of the frontier, induced the queen to change her residence from Compiègne to Amiens. He had designs advantageous to France which sought to set limits to the advance of the enemy, and, more than that, to calm the tumults within the kingdom by victories which the good condition of the king's armies led him to expect. He requested the Duc d'Orléans to go to Paris and pass some time there in order to quiet by his presence the outcry still going on against himself, which gave him great uneasiness and made him fear that this remainder of public malignity would always be opposed to his private welfare, and prevent him from obtaining his share of the peace.

The Duc d'Orléans, who wished to serve the queen, followed her to Amiens. There he helped her to make the arrangements that were necessary for the king's service; after which he returned to Compiègne to fetch Madame, who, for a wonder, had followed him this year, and thence he returned to Paris to smooth the way for him who had need of his protection and assistance, but who was beginning, apparently, to weary of this dependence.

V.

1649.

I LEFT Compiègne to return to Paris the same day, June 7, that the Court went to Amiens. On my arrival I found all minds as ill-intentioned as ever, and the placards and lampoons of seditious persons even more dangerous to the State than those which had hitherto been aimed only at the person of the cardinal. One of them boldly declared that when rebellion became general, the people had a just right to make war against their king; that their wrongs ought to be decided by arms; and that at such times they had the right to give the crown to other families, and to change the laws. Examples were adduced in this manifesto of States which had changed a monarchy to a government of the many; seeking in this way to give birth in parliament to a desire to do like the senate of Venice, or to follow the example of England. All these bold actions, which may be called great crimes, so enormous that the mind can scarcely take them in, came from those who sought to keep up the rioting and increase it as long as they chose. Parliament had no part in them, and this particular manifesto was held in horror by all its members, even the most malignant.

The Duc de Beaufort had at this time a great quarrel on his shoulders, which was the topic of all conversations in the great world. A few days before the queen left Compiègne for Amiens, the Duc de Candale, Commandeur de Souvré, Manicamp, Ruvigni, Jarzé, the Commandeur de Jars, and several others wished to go to Paris for a little

amusement than good eating; but not being able to hinder the dance they thought best to wait and see to what tune it would go. Accordingly, they pretended to take no notice, and allowed the Duc de Beaufort to approach the table, which he and his company surrounded. He bowed to them with some trouble in his face, and his bow was returned with civility by those who were seated. Some among them, such as Ruvigni and the Commandeur de Jars, rose and bowed to him, to show him respect.

The duke, whose air was proud and haughty, said, "Messieurs, you sup early." They answered in a few words, still civilly, as if to end a conversation that was not convenient to them. The Duc de Beaufort, continuing, in spite of them, asked if they had violins. They answered no; to which he replied that he was sorry, because he had meant to take them away from them; adding that there were persons in their company who chose to talk about him and he had come there to make them repent; then, taking hold of a corner of the table-cloth he pulled it roughly away, overturning the dishes, and soiling some of the company, who attempted to catch them.

On this proceeding they all rose, and all demanded their swords. The Duc de Candale was cousin to the Duc de Beaufort, being son of a bastard daughter of Henri IV., as the prince was son of the Duc de Vendôme, the bastard son of the same king. This young seigneur, whose presence alone ought to have prevented the Duc de Beaufort from revenging himself in this way, being deeply offended by the proceeding, sprang to one of his pages and took his sword to repair the affront done to the whole company in his presence. He did not merely put himself on the defensive, but he attacked the strongest on the other side, and all the witnesses of his action praised it and said that he showed



Duc de Beaufort

much courage and valour. He received some blows and perhaps he might have paid with his life for all if the Duc de Beaufort, who meant to attack none but Jarzé, had not flung himself between the swords on seeing his cousin's peril, protesting that he had no quarrel with him, and earnestly begging him not to take part in one that did not concern him. The Duc de Candale did not receive his excuses; and said he could not take too great a part, inasmuch as the Duc de Beaufort had shown him so little respect in attacking them all together.

While this dialogue was going on, history shows that Jarzé, being maltreated by pages and lacqueys, slipped away as well as he could through the crowd. Commandeur de Jars and Ruvigni, who were respected by the assailants, remained among them, blaming their action and demanding satisfaction for the insult from the persons of quality who accompanied the Duc de Beaufort. These persons replied that they themselves did not approve of it, and being a hundred to one they could not claim any glory. Consequently they all set to work to prevent further disorder, and knowing that the Duc de Beaufort was only bitter against Jarzé, they shut their eyes as to what became of him, and took pains to treat the others civilly.

The affair ending thus, they all retired. The Duc de Beaufort thought he had done an heroic action, and his friends were satisfied with having rendered him a service. But those who were affronted were keenly irritated against the prince, and kept up a great desire for vengeance. The Duc de Candale, especially, went the next day to the Bois de Boulogne, whence he sent Saint-Mesgrin, who belonged to the "mazarins," to challenge the Duc de Beaufort. The latter replied that he would not fight his cousin, and intended to satisfy him in all possible ways; and that if he

did not succeed in doing so, they might attack him in the streets, and then he would defend himself. Saint-Mesgrin replied that this was proposing the impossible, because to fight him in the streets, considering the affection the populace bore him, was to go to certain death and not to a fair combat.

But after this, the Duc de Beaufort for several days believed he should be attacked, not in the streets, but on the public promenades. He accordingly went about carefully attended by a great suite of friends. He ordered led horses and a quantity of pistols and swords to be brought, and this warlike preparation appeared to await the signal for a great battle, which was never fought. It was more like Don Quixote's exploits against the windmills than a quarrel of valiant men like the prince and his friends and those he had affronted.

The marshals of France exerted themselves strongly to conciliate the affair; but the Duc de Candale refused to give his word, and others hid themselves in fear of being obliged to give it. At last M. de Metz, the Duc de Candale's uncle, to avoid some great misfortune, induced the Duc de Candale, it being impossible for him to fight the duel, to go to Verneuil with him. Jarzé was forced to go somewhere else, and in this way the affair was put in a position to end peaceably.

The Duc de Mercœur took the side of his brother against the Court; with which the minister was not pleased, saying that he would not give his niece to the brother of a hare-brained fellow who hated him, for he would probably, in spite of the marriage, side with his enemies to insult him. This anger, and the embarrassment the Duc de Beaufort caused by demanding his share of the inheritance before the wedding, put great obstacles in the way, and the marriage was

for some time in abeyance. But shrewd persons said that the real reason of the delay was that the Duc de Nemours, having now returned to Court, was in no haste to bind his son, the eldest of his family, to the fortunes of a minister whose grandeur was diminished, whose authority was weakened, and whose present position might not be permanent.

The queen having returned to Compiègne, the Prince de Conti and the Prince de Marsillac went there to extract from the minister the rest of the benefits which they claimed. Madame de Longueville had neglected no means to make all the favours of the Court fall on the head of the Prince de Marsillac. He received them, and was treated as a man whom the queen had reason to fear and must therefore treat cautiously. Nevertheless, in spite of these fine appearances, it was thought that he and the Prince de Conti might be arrested. Madame de Longueville and the whole cabal were afraid of this; but the queen was not in a position to strike a firm blow. She therefore took the course of hiding her hatred and treating them mildly. The Prince de Conti was not the more tractable for that. He would not visit the minister, and had the audacity to approve of the Duc de Beaufort's action, and to say openly in presence of the queen that he had offered him his services on that occasion. He had in fact done so, not because he really liked him, but because it was then thought the mark of a noble and generous soul to show opposition to the feelings and interests of the queen. Whatever was done to maintain the reputation of the malcontents and rebels was called virtue and firmness, and the number of such rebels was so large that to be on their side was to be among the strongest.

At this time (June 27) our army, in part paid through the creation of new offices and the care of Cardinal Mazarin, was fine, powerful, and composed of thirty-two thousand men,

with eighty pieces of artillery. In this condition, and by the order of the minister it laid siege to Cambrai; the line of circumvallation was quickly made by means of twenty thousand crowns given to the soldiers, a crown a fathom.

This move, in times so dark, seemed grand and worthy of admiration. It was fitted to show the *frondeurs* that the minister was capable of great enterprises, and that he who resisted so many enemies with gentleness and peace could make war boldly when required to do so, and was a man who in spite of the weakness supposed to be in him, was to be feared, and would be difficult to drive away.

The Comte d'Harcourt commanded the army; and such good troops, under a general who had always been fortunate, made the queen hope for the taking of the place. But to her horror, when she was full of this belief, she received a courier from the general, telling her that the Germans, commanded by Erlac, had allowed the enemy to pass through their lines, that the place was relieved, and he had therefore raised the siege.

This bad news caused the queen as much sorrow as it gave joy to her enemies; and her minister, contrary to his usual custom, seemed much afflicted. The German troops had served the king well ever since they had abandoned M. de Turenne. They had, however, committed such great sacrileges and done so much harm that their help could no longer be valued by Catholics. The Vicomte de Turenne was suspected of having instigated this treachery, through the friends he still had in the corps, in order to make the minister regret and perhaps recall him.

Cardinal Mazarin blamed the Comte d'Harcourt for raising the siege without orders from the king, and said that if he had remained where he was he could have continued it successfully. As it was, the minister saw his grand project

ruined in a moment and his hopes lost. It was now necessary to fall back on his wiles and his studied benignity to ward off the blows of his enemies, who became, through this piece of ill-luck, stronger and more dangerous than ever.

During this time the coadjutor gave open signs of the contempt in which he held the minister by the manner in which he behaved to him during a trip to Court. For at last he resolved to pay his respects to the queen, and left Paris, loudly protesting that he would not visit the cardinal. The queen, as I have said, was long unwilling to receive him; but her minister now advised her to do so. He believed that, being his benefactress, she would convert him to her side. As she always gave an agreeable turn to whatever she wished to say, she made the coadjutor kindly reproaches on his conduct, and said she could not be satisfied with him so long as he would not go to see the minister whom she chose to support against all their factions. She said, moreover, that she must think he was not in her interests so long as he did not conform to her sentiments in this respect; and she demanded of him this proof of his gratitude.

The coadjutor, not relaxing his resolution, answered that her power was absolute over his will; but that he very humbly entreated her to approve of his not seeing Cardinal Mazarin so soon; because he should lose his influence in Paris if compelled to do actions so contrary to his past conduct; that such apparent inconsistency would discredit him and take from him the means of serving her usefully under circumstances that might arise; but when the right time came he would do all it was his duty to do to prove himself her servant. In this way he managed to see the queen, have the joy of despising the cardinal, and the glory of such haughtiness, together with the hope that the minister, not

being able to crush him and still fearing him, would make every effort to win him over — not loving him the more for that. In this he was not deceived. For this audacious williness, joined to an infinite number of intrigues, enabled him in the end, to obtain his cardinal's hat; but he had to wait for it some time yet.

The Duc d'Orléans, on hearing the news from Cambrai and having given as much order as was then possible in Paris, went to express to the queen the grief he felt at the mishap. Before leaving the rebellious city, the people which were beginning, through the influence of his presence to show better inclinations, he assured parliament, the sheriffs of the city, the guild of merchants, and the burghers that the king had no severe intentions towards them, that all was pardoned, and that the queen desired to return and take up her residence there as if she had had no ground of complaint against them. But he told them they must remove all obstacles that might hinder that return, and invite it by their obedience, submission, and respect. He conjured them also to aid in punishing those who published lampoons against the king and queen, which was done for the purpose of exciting hatred against the cardinal. The authors of these libels had never yet received the just punishment they deserved, although the queen had ordered it. In conclusion the duke urged the disaffected to return to their duty, and did, sincerely, all in his power to contribute to the perfection of the peace he had desired with all his heart.

The minister now believed that, in spite of the *frondeurs* he could bring the king back to Paris; he was convinced, indeed, that it was necessary, as much to establish in foreign countries a belief in our internal peace as on account of the revenues of the king and his finances. The provinces were paying nothing; the *tailles* were not punctually levied

the people were everywhere breathing the sweet air of liberty and, as usual, complaining of taxes and subsidies. The poorer peasants and the labourers groaned; yet it was impossible to comprehend the reason of their sufferings in view of the great diminutions made in their favour. They could only be attributed to the disorder caused by the false reformatations of the rebels.

The king's household was in a pitiable state. It was badly supplied; his table was often insufficient. Some of the crown jewels were in pawn; the armies were not supplied; the soldiers, though faithful, were not paid, and could not fight. The chief as well as the lesser officers of the household, being left without wages, would no longer serve; the pages of the chamber were sent back to their families, because the gentlemen of the chamber had no means of feeding them. The monarchy, so great, so rich, so opulent, whose sovereign holds a Court which has ever been the admiration of Europe, was now in a short time reduced to poverty.

It was at this time that the King of England came to France, having been recognized as king by our nation. He came from Holland to meet his mother, whom he had not seen since their misfortune. He was lodged at Saint-Germain, the queen having sent the Duc de Vendôme to offer him that palace as a residence so long as it pleased him to remain in France. He accepted the offer gladly; for in the position in which he was, borne down by a doubly fatal mourning such as his, he could not wish to be in Paris. When he arrived, the Duc de Vendôme met him with the royal carriages and took him to Compiègne, where he saw the king, who came out half a league to meet him, and, with the queen, received him with all the marks of affection their Majesties owed to so great a prince. The king gave him a truly royal dinner;

more so through the royal personages who were present than from its preparation or magnificence. There was no one at table but the two kings, the queen, Monsieur the king's brother, the Duc d'Orléans, and Mademoiselle his daughter.

The English Court remained some time at Saint-Germain where it was little frequented by our Frenchmen. Scarcely any one visited either the Queen of England or the king her son. Certain great English lords had followed the fortunes of their king, and these composed his Court. Their solitude is not surprising; ill-fortune was its cause; they had no favours to bestow. Theirs were crowns without power which gave them no means of elevating men or of doing them benefits. They had followers enough when wealth, grandeur, and dignities were theirs, for those brought a crowd around their persons. The unhappy queen had formerly had joys and treasures in abundance, for I have heard Madame de Chevreuse and many others, who saw her in her days of splendour, say that the Court of France had nothing like the beauty of hers. But her joy was now a subject of despair; her past riches made her feel the more her present poverty.

As kings are not all unhappy, or, at any rate, not always so, there was a queen at this time who, after enduring a hard bondage to an unpleasant husband, married, for the second time, a king by whom she was loved, and who, by this very action, gave reason to think he was a worthy man. The Queen of Poland, having lost a husband she did not love, found herself beloved by his brother, who claimed the crown, although his younger brother, under some pretext or an agreement with the Church, disputed his claim for some time.

The widowed queen was left rich in money and in friends; and she had much influence among her people. S

that the prince, who esteemed her for herself, found that she could aid him to surmount the difficulties attending his election, and make him happy not only by the possession of her person, but by that of her wealth. Though he was brother of the late king, and consequently within a forbidden degree of proximity, he hoped (as really happened) that the pope would not refuse him the necessary dispensation for the marriage. But the queen was then ill, and dared to think only of death. She came so near it, indeed, as to think of nothing else, and made her will, leaving her sister, the Princess Palatine [Anne de Gonzague] heiress of all her property. The Prince of Poland was in despair, and, as I have heard it said, gave her by his attentions and anxieties every mark of his affection. At last, health being restored to her, the desire to reign once more and to reign with a prince she could love, led her to work both for him and for herself.

As the people of Poland were already accustomed to her rule, and she was acceptable to them because of her capacity and her gentleness, they were easily persuaded by her, and the adherents she had made at that Court served her faithfully. Her rather advanced age did not displease the people. They always see with satisfaction the barrenness of those they put upon the throne, because the grandees of the kingdom could scarcely refuse to elect their children if they had them and they were capable of succeeding their fathers. This compliance deprives the people of a choice; which is always agreeable to them to make.

Though the inclination the prince had for the queen led him to wish to marry her, I know from a person who was with him, in the capacity of agent from our king, that he felt some regret that she was no longer young. When he saw himself king he said to my friend that it was true that the

queen had great merit, and he could not too much esteem her but he saw what he gave up for that inclination and esteem, and knew that he might have found a princess younger and richer, who could have given him alliances more advantageous than those she gave him, which in that country served him for nothing.

The marriage took place at the end of her year of mourning, with all the magnificence required on such occasions. Our letters were full of it. We learned that she was borne in triumph to church in a silver-gilt car, lined with cloth of silver; that the feast was fine, though the meats were cooked in the fashion of that country, which is very different from our delicacies and ragouts; and, above all, that the King and Queen of Poland appeared content.

On the 22d of July, the Prince de Condé returned from Bourgogne; and as he had not yet resolved to abandon himself to all the passions of a sister who did not govern him as much as she wished, he seemed to have as great an ardour for the queen's interests as in the past. Madame de Longueville, who tried with many efforts to change his mind, had already so changed that of their mother, the Princesse de Condé, that she had not seen the queen since the peace, and seemed by all her speeches entirely cooled towards her. After making this great change in her mother's mind, the *frondeuse* princess, in order to reconcile the populace to her brother, set a rumour afloat that he had become devout during his journey, and that a much respected Chartreux monk of great virtue had converted him,—telling him meanwhile, that he would some day be glad to follow her counsels, and warning him he would repent of the protection he had hitherto given to Cardinal Mazarin.

August 2, the prince left Paris to join the Court, stopping some days at Chantilly on his way. He reached Compiègne

on the 6th ; and without making any difficulties went at once to visit Cardinal Mazarin, with apparent good-will, and showed that his thoughts were very far from being what was suspected. He next saw the queen, and told her, laughing, that all that was being said of him was false ; that he had become neither a *frondeur* nor a saint ; and he assured her that he renounced heartily the sentiments of his family, which he frankly owned were rather tainted ; he promised to do all he could to bring them back to better ways, and answered for their fidelity. The queen was satisfied, and believed she had reason to feel at ease about all rumours to the contrary of what he said.

A person well-informed on all these matters, and who knew the prince [the Duc de Rohan-Chabot], in explaining to me his contradictions, told me that he had listened to Madame de Longueville and his family only to uphold himself in their minds because both she and the Prince de Conti were accustomed to think him weak, and to accuse him of base servility to the favourite. He assured me that up to this time the prince had no intention of quarrelling with the Court ; on the contrary, having satisfied his family with this show of compliance, he meant to make it serve him also with the minister, by giving the latter a great fear of losing him. But this person, prophesying the future, told me that the Prince de Condé, loving quiet and not willing to let himself be governed, would, nevertheless, little by little, have his feelings changed, and that Madame de Longueville showed all signs of making him go farther than he wished to go, because, so my friend said, there is nothing so easy as to find means of irritating a prince of the blood who always wants more than can be given to him.

The Duc de Beaufort, to fulfil the duty he owed to the queen, asked if it would be agreeable to her that he should

go to Compiègne and pay his respects to her. But the minister, who had not succeeded in his policy of consenting that she would see the coadjutor, by whom she had been so boldly refused, did not approve of her treating favourably the King of the Frondeurs. The Duc de Beaufort was therefore rejected; and the queen did me the honour to tell me on that same day (when I returned to her at Compiègne) that she had not been willing to see him, for that he of whom she had formerly thought so much was now more odious to her than the others, because we hate the enemies who have been friends more than those to whom we have always been indifferent. The Duc de Beaufort felt in the same way; and, having met him during my visit to Paris, I found that he had more bitterness against the queen than those of his party who had never been in her interests.

Madame de Chevreuse, having been ill ever since she left Paris, had been unable as yet to use the permission she had obtained to see the queen. On the 8th of August she arrived at Compiègne, pale from her illness, and her heart submissive, as it seemed, to the will of the queen and her minister. She was received during the council, at which were present the Duc d'Orléans, the Prince de Condé, and the rest of the ministers. Le Tellier, who had managed her reconciliation, told me that evening that he had had much trouble in reassuring her on her suspicions; for in spite of the queen's word which he had given her, she feared that, having returned to France without her Majesty's consent, she would be arrested.

This princess was so weary of exile and banishment that she greatly dreaded them; and for greater security, she wanted the chief-president to also promise her on behalf of the queen that she should be well treated. The queen, who never kissed any one but the Duchesse d'Orléans, Mademoi-

selle, and sometimes the Princesse de Condé, had been in the habit of distinguishing Madame de Chevreuse from the other princesses by doing her that honour. But she was now deprived of it, her Majesty wishing to show that she had felt all that Madame de Chevreuse had done against her. The latter entreated the queen to forgive the past, and promised her for the future the utmost fidelity. Her promises were received kindly and without reproaches, but with a very different manner from the caresses given her when the queen was satisfied.

After curtseying to the king, and saying a word to the minister, she retired, and the queen said, with an explanation to a member of the council, that she was no longer in any way Madame de Chevreuse, for she found her as changed as she was herself; meaning particularly to speak of her face, which bore no traces of her past beauty. There was much pressing in the queen's antechamber to see her pass; and I saw from this public curiosity how much distinction is given by the rumour of extraordinary things. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, her daughter, whose beauty, though not perfect, was celebrated, received much praise from those who saw her; that which is a novelty always pleases, and that which does not please is nevertheless admired. Civility and fashion often compose this admiration, rather than the real feeling of those who give it.

At this same council it was determined that the king should soon go to Paris. The Duc d'Orléans and the Prince de Condé, to gratify the Parisians, urged the queen to resolve upon it, and promised the cardinal their protection. Both had good and laudable intentions; but it is to be believed that they cared very little for what might happen, and that the present state of things did not displease them. A Spanish proverb says, "It is good to fish in troubled waters."

The minister consented, hoping that the king's presence might, perhaps, stifle the remains of the sedition. But as he had seen often enough that this remedy did not always suffice to cure the evil, it was praiseworthy in him to resort to it in spite of the danger to himself which he might reasonably fear. He did more; he would not even show that he believed he had anything to fear. Sufferings always lessen the fury of a people; and though Paris had not been reduced to great famine, it is nevertheless true that the populace had been brought to feel want. A great quantity of the poorer people were dead; and what was left of the riotous *canaille* were only a troop of rascals paid by the *frondeurs* to shout and make disturbances.

The presence of the Prince de Conti at Court; the union visible, in spite of Madame de Longueville's schemes, between the queen, the princes of the blood, and the cardinal; the return of the Princesse de Condé to Compiègne, and the satisfaction she showed at an explanation between herself and the queen; the reconciliation of Madame de Chevreuse, which made the Court hope for that of the coadjutor; the suspicion that the Duc de Beaufort was growing more humble; and, above all, the public joy of the burghers at the approaching return of the king, — put the malcontents out of hope of being able to maintain themselves against the Court. They were gloomy, and now began to justify themselves for the past, fearing the future, and to say that the cardinal did a clever thing in returning without any show of fear. They shrugged their shoulders when they spoke of him, and said, for all answer, that he was luckier than he deserved to be.

Amid this general consternation of the party, there were some who, among themselves, were mad enough to hope that the day of the cardinal's re-entrance into Paris would prove fatal to him. They said that if the populace took it into

their heads to cry "Vive le Roi," and "À bas Mazarin," he was lost; and there were persons of the seditious faction who gave money to attempt this last remedy. But this miserable scheme, practised so often and of which even fools were beginning to get disgusted, did not succeed; and the time now came when it was necessary that Mazarin should make himself feared by his enemies. The queen, anxious not to give opportunity to the evil-intentioned for fresh designs, hastened from Compiègne. She arrived in Paris with the king on the 18th of August.

We now wondered at a marvel which was scarcely believable, in view of what had passed. The king and queen were received with acclamations and with the customary shouts of joy practised by the populace on such occasions. Nothing was said about Mazarin, and all this public applause seemed to presage a real peace. The Prince de Conti, who had been slyly chosen by the queen to sit on the middle seat of her carriage with the minister, gave her the slip and entered Paris a few hours before the Court, not wishing, he said, to witness the return of a man whose declared enemy he was. The queen, who thought it permissible to take advantage of all occurrences that might present themselves, desired to lead in triumph her defeated enemy, so that the prince's caution displeased her not a little. When she arrived in Paris she did me the honour to tell me, laughing, that she was in despair at not having accomplished her innocent vengeance.

The entrance of the king on that day was a veritable wonder, and a great victory for the minister. Never did so great a crowd follow the king's carriage; and it seemed amid that public gaiety as if the past was a dream. The hated Mazarin sat in the royal carriage beside the Prince de Condé, attentively looked at by the people, who said to

one another, as if they had never before seen him: "That is Mazarin!" Some, observing a carriage with the sides carefully closed, cried out that he was within it, and insisted on seeing him; but this was more in jest than malice.

When the king and queen arrived the crowd parted the gendarmes, the cavalry escort, and the whole suite from the royal carriage, — blessing the king and queen, and speaking to the advantage of Mazarin. Some said he was handsome, others held out their hands to him and assured him they liked him much; others declared that they would go and drink his health. After the queen had entered her apartments, they began to make bonfires, blessing Mazarin for bringing the king back to them. Privately he had distributed money among them, and that was the reason why they now swore that he was a good man, and declared they had been deceived into shouting against him.

The queen was enchanted with this reception. She thought these acclamations were signs of approval due to her firmness; and this public rejoicing was all the more agreeable to her because she expected less.¹ Good judgment had required her return; and the same judgment had counselled her to trust herself wholly to the people without precaution, in order to show them confidence and let the enemies of the State see that neither she nor the king feared anything. But, in truth, the day had been dreaded by the minister, who had received many warnings (sent no doubt by those who feared his return) that he must be upon his guard, for the populace intended to rise on seeing him.

The queen, after her arrival, told me that she had been surprised at the extreme gaiety of the Parisians, and had

¹ Cardinal de Retz says that these acclamations signified nothing; and at the end of four days the songs and lampoons began again and "the Frondeurs were more boastful than ever." — FR. ED.

little expected such a fête. It is to be supposed that the *frondeurs* were in despair at the change. Indifferent persons observed it with amazement; and all had reason to be forever convinced of the fickleness of a populace, and the facility with which it joins one set of opinions to another.

The Palais-Royal was found as full of leading personages and people of rank as the streets were of the common people. The king and queen were saluted by this illustrious group, and particularly by the Duc de Beaufort, whom the Duc d'Orléans led from the midst of the crowd into the little cabinet. The minister was not there, having gone to rest in his own apartments.

The Duc de Beaufort, after bowing to the king, made a compliment to the queen composed of protestations of fidelity. She merely replied that results would convince her of the truth of his words. The Duc d'Orléans, who knew that the interview ought not to last long, said aloud that the queen must be left to rest after the fatigue she had just gone through; and he left the cabinet declaring that he was very tired himself. The Prince de Condé followed him, and the Duc de Beaufort also. The queen bade a cordial good-night to all the company, and after she was undressed and had visited her oratory to render thanks to God for the visible assistance she had received from His all-powerful hand, she talked to us the whole evening with pleasure of the applause on her entry, and related the soft speeches made by the washerwomen, the menders of old clothes, and the market-women to her minister; which were doubtless more agreeable to Cardinal Mazarin at that moment than those of all the fine ladies of Europe.

The next day, the coadjutor, at the head of the clergy, came to pay his respects to the king and queen. He made their Majesties an harangue which showed plainly enough

by its brevity that he disliked being forced to make any at all. He seemed confused. His audacity, boldness, and force of mind did not prevent him from feeling on this occasion the respect and fear which custom and duty have so strongly implanted in our minds for royal personages. The terror that remorse infallibly causes to guilty persons was visible on his face. I was standing by the queen; I noticed that he turned pale and his lips trembled as long as he spoke before the king and her. The minister, who was standing beside the king's chair, showed a face at this meeting which marked his victory; no doubt he felt the joy of seeing his enemy thus agitated.

I noticed also that the coadjutor, in spite of the great fear that seized him, had enough pride not to look at the cardinal; he made his bow to the queen and king without even glancing at him, and went away angry no doubt with himself for having shown public signs of the trouble in his conscience. The queen saw them with joy. That trembling did honour to the firmness of her own courage, which had steadily overcome so many obstacles; and as I had the honour of being beside her during the coadjutor's speech, she made me a sign with her eye as he left her. When bent to her she asked me if I had not thought, on observing the face of the speaker, how fine a thing was innocence. "His shame gave me pleasure," she said; "and if I had any vanity I might even say it gave me glory; but there is no doubt," she added, "that it is very honourable to the cardinal."

After this harangue came the parliament, the *cour des comptes*, the *cour des aides*, the grand council, the masters of petitions, the guild of merchants, the burghers, and all those accustomed to salute the king whenever he returned to Paris. All these companies testified by their words that

they were very submissive. Parliament in general seemed to be well-intentioned ; but as it now saw that it had strength to resist the king, and that he could not punish it in the manner he proposed to do, the assembly felt itself in a position to hold firm against the royal authority when it saw fit ; and there was reason to fear it was not yet inclined to the respect and fidelity it was bound to feel. It is only too true that the consequences of all this were bad, and that the wrongs parliament afterwards committed against the service of the king proceeded from this first engagement, which seemed to have the colour of the public good, while, in fact, its real source was in the passion and self-interest of those over whom ambition had always too much power.

The queen, being in Paris, wished to pay her first visit to Notre-Dame, where she went to hear mass on the following Saturday, taking with her the king. In passing through the streets her carriage was continually followed by the populace, and all that *canaille* which had so failed in its duty and respect towards her now gave her a thousand benedictions. In the Marché-Neuf the fishwomen who had screamed the loudest against her tried to snatch her, out of affection, from her carriage. They flung themselves in crowds upon her, each of these *megæras* striving to touch her gown so that she was almost torn in pieces by the villanous troop. They shouted to her that they were glad to see her back, and begged pardon for their faults with such cries and tears and transports of joy that the queen and all her company were amazed, and regarded the change as a sort of miracle. In the church it was necessary to lift the king up and show him to the people, who, redoubling their shouts of “Vive le Roi !” showed how strong is the natural impression of fidelity and love in the hearts of subjects towards their

king. It is variable and defective, but it always easily returns.

A few days later the Duc de Beaufort came to the queen's circle to present himself to her like the rest; but she, irritated at his not having gone to see the cardinal, rose as soon as she saw him and withdrew into her little cabinet.

The fatigues of these first days over, the queen went to visit the Queen of England at Saint-Germain. She found there the King of England, who was awaiting near his mother some favourable opportunity to return to his own country and make war upon his rebellious subjects. The two queens had not seen each other since the deplorable death of the King of England, which both had mourned one as a beloved wife, the other as a friend. But the queen avoided speaking to the Queen of England about her sorrows in order not to renew her tears; and after the first words of grief which the occasion obliged them to say to each other, ordinary civility and commonplace remarks made up their interview.

The king, to awaken as much as possible the love of his subjects towards his person, went on the day of Saint-Louis on horseback, to visit the Jesuit church in the Rue Saint Antoine. He appeared at his best with his beautiful figure and wearing an admirably handsome suit. The Prince de Condé and the Prince de Conti accompanied him on this devotional parade, and many seigneurs followed him to take part in the public joy.

The cardinal, whose enemies spread it about that he dared not leave the Palais-Royal, inspired on the same day by policy, by courage, or by assurances that he could trust the joy of the people, drove out in his carriage one hour before the king, almost alone, with two or three bishops and abbés but without suite or escort, and, crossing the whole city

went to await the king at the church of the Jesuits. He received his share of the public benedictions; and before entering the church he remained some time surrounded by the people, to be seen by them and to prove that he had no fear of being maltreated. The king, having arrived at the splendid temple, had good reason to render thanks to God, who had preserved France from the evils which had seemed to threaten her. The minister had also good reason to give thanks for protection against his private enemies, and for being brought safely to a point of favourable change in his fortunes. It would seem as though the greatest evils never fail in being followed by favourable events. These, however, did not last long; and we shall see the minister again made to feel, and very bitterly, how much the retention of lofty offices costs the men who hold them.

The cardinal, wishing now to be absolute master of the Court, did what he could to win over the Prince de Conti; but that prince, prompted by Madame de Longueville, continued in his plan of being leader of the malcontents. An ill-intentioned prince of the blood is always to be dreaded; his name is a great consideration among factious minds, and he can be the cause at all times of great evils. The queen, from this very consideration, compelled herself to treat him well; she treated the others in the same way; but it needed all Cardinal Mazarin's earnestness to reduce her to such dissimulation.

The minister, in spite of the vexation shown by the Prince de Condé at the proposal of a marriage between the Duc de Mercœur and Mlle. de Mancini, resolved to conclude the affair, and give himself, by means of his nieces, important alliances; his purpose was, however, not to vex the princes of the blood; on the contrary, he ardently desired to keep their friendship. But he wanted to exist by himself and to

have no further need of protectors.¹ He therefore sent Tellier to the Prince de Condé to tell him that he desired conclude the marriage ; that he could not refuse a prince such high rank who desired to become his relation, or to recognize his obligation in accepting the offer. He likewise informed the prince that those who were his friends and who knew the Duc de Beaufort had assured him, the cardinal, that it was the hardest blow the duke could receive because, to make the marriage in spite of him would prove how little he was considered ; and, finally, he entreated the Prince de Condé to consent and to believe it would in no way detach him from his interests.

Le Tellier related to me how the prince answered him laughing and ridiculing the minister : “ Ah ! monsieur, so is dead, that great prince whom the cardinal feared in such a strange a manner ! Truly, he is well avenged ! ” Then after a burst of laughter, he took a tone of civility, said the queen was mistress and could do as she pleased, the cardinal also ; and that, having already given his consent at Compiègne he should not retract it.

The prince, after this, resumed the slight coldness which had appeared in his manner of acting before his journey to Bourgogne, and his friends went about telling everywhere that he had reason to complain that his friendship was despised, for which those concerned might soon repent. (On several occasions the Prince de Condé showed his resentment to this marriage, for, having hitherto always seemed submissive to the power of the queen, he now began to show bitterness about many things, and it was noticed in the coun-

¹ Omer Talon says that “ he wished to have all authority in himself whom he knew to be by nature weak, timid, and apprehensive ; and he believed that if he made this marriage the house of Lorraine would unite with that of Vendôme, adding the person of the Duc d’Orléans ; and that the Prince de Condé would find himself weakened.” —FR. ED.

that he no longer had any compliance for the minister's opinion. The dislike he now seemed to take to the cardinal allied him the more with Madame de Longueville because he kept less aloof from her sentiments, while she was delighted to see him discontented and complaining. Without her influence the minister could have cured him easily by the pains he took to justify himself about the cause of his vexation. But as she worked to increase it the prince remained for some time in a state of indecision, not knowing what he liked or what he disliked. Sometimes the minister thought he was returning to him; then he would turn to his brother, the Prince de Conti, and hold conferences with the most dangerous spirits; he thought all things, listened to every one, but willed nothing. I have heard a person who, as first gentleman of the bedchamber, slept near him, say that he was then in the greatest uneasiness of mind, vexed and dissatisfied with everything, because in all things he found defects and evils.

The minister hoped, considering his conduct in the past, that he would have great reluctance to quitting the queen's party. Madame de Longueville and the others, judging by the evident change now apparent in him, believed that they already held him bound to their designs; and with him for their leader, they hoped for nothing less than to drive out the minister and make themselves masters of the Court and all favours; or else to so lessen the cardinal's power as to make him a mere minister in appearance. To attain their old and their new ends, they worked with all their might to revive the malignity of parliament; in order to bring fresh embarrassments upon the queen, and new troubles to the cardinal.

Parliament, having on the 2d of September shown signs of making some stir about the petitions addressed to it by

the people of Bordeaux, the queen summoned the Assembly before her in a body. The chancellor pointed out the wrong they did in proposing to call the Chambers together, which was formally against what had been decreed by the last declaration. He told them that, as the queen had no intention of breaking her word on all that she had promised, she demanded the same fidelity from them; that the pretext they were taking had no foundation; that the Provence affair was settled, the peace sent to them having been publicly accepted, and that the Bordeaux people should do the same, inasmuch as the conditions sent to them by their deputies were mild and reasonable. He said they ought to think of the means of giving peace to the whole kingdom, and to fear, even if they had the best intentions in the world, to allow the Chambers to assemble, which would only be giving means to those who were not wise to trouble the peace of the State once more by their usual factions and unruliness. The queen and the Duc d'Orléans told them succinctly the same things, exhorting them to do right for the king's advantage and that of his subjects.

The chief-president, who on these occasions always seemed to share the sentiments of his assembly, answered that they were obliged to come to the help of their associates [of Bordeaux]; that their purpose ought not to displease her Majesty; that they had no intention of failing in what they owed to the king; that they could, if they chose, show grounds of complaint that certain points of the declaration had not been complied with, but that they did not so choose; and they assured her, in general, that they were good servants of the King and would prove it on all occasions.

Parliament, however, being ashamed to disobey the queen at once, resolved, in spite of the cabals of certain individuals and their secret factions, not to open the letters from Bor-

deaux except before the Grand Chamber; and they deputed some of their members to make this answer.

On the 5th of September, when the king completed his eleventh year, the city of Paris, wishing to mark the joy it felt at his return, gave him a ball at the Hôtel de Ville and a magnificent collation. All the Court was present, by order of the queen, and the ladies were dressed as much to their advantage as possible. They danced till daylight, expressly to avoid all show of fear, on the king's part, of subjects so recently repentant. The night would have been more favourable than the day, had this fête been the pretext for some sinister design. But as this idea was founded only on a foresight which wisdom suggested to the queen, without any essential foundation, she told us, to conceal these fears, that she had ordered the attendance of the whole Court maliciously, expressly to embarrass the painted ladies, some of whom, belonging to the Fronde, displeased her.

Madame de Longueville, whose vexation at seeing the king and queen in Paris kept her at Chantilly under pretence of drinking the waters, wished to use this occasion to return with good grace. She had reigned at the Hôtel de Ville during the siege of the city, and no doubt it was a very disagreeable thing to her to see her power effaced by a greater than her own. She desired, however, that the queen should invite her to the ball, and she asked it through her mother, the Princesse de Condé, and made her other friends speak of it. But the queen, who had no desire to treat her so well, answered coldly that she feared to inconvenience her. Finally the Prince de Condé was forced to take part in the matter, which he did in concert with the princess his mother; so it appeared to the public as though Madame de Longueville, in spite of past divisions, was sought by the queen.

The queen, on yielding to this latter attack, did me the

honour to speak of it with vexation; she told me she was astonished that this vainglorious Madame de Longueville should have made such efforts to obtain so small a thing. I agreed with her that it was this very self-glorification which had brought Madame de Longueville to humility and that she had wanted this apparent coaxing in order to let it be seen how much she was considered by all parties.

This royal fête was given and received with entire satisfaction, as much on the side of the king, the queen, and the whole Court as on that of the burghers. The day was fine and cool; the ladies were not too hot, because the windows were open the whole time to refresh them. The king, as was customary, danced with Mademoiselle; the Prince de Condé with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse; Madame was led out by the Duc de Rohan; and the Duc de Mercœur, the declared suitor of Mademoiselle de Mancini, danced with her. The day ended with a splendid collation, and in the evening there were fireworks which were very fine. After that the queen took the king back to the Palais-Royal though it was still early.

While the Court thus seemed in a good state, parliament still grumbled a little and let no occasion to do so pass. The marriage which so displeased the Prince de Condé went on; the contract was drawn up. In it the Admiralty was promised to the Duc de Vendôme with survivance to his son; and for *dot*, two hundred thousand crowns and the first government that became vacant. The Prince de Condé said not a word about all this; he did as the parliament did he grumbled on other subjects. The Duc de Bouillon and the Vicomte de Turenne continued to demand their reimbursement for Sedan. Hopes were held out to them of Auvergne, Château-Thierry, and other towns; but still they did not get them. The Prince de Condé loudly asserted

their claims and spoke of them to the chancellor; he was violent and swore at him, saying in a tone of great anger that the cardinal had promised to satisfy them, and he must do so. The Duc de Longueville, who wished to profit by his wife's intrigues, declared that he desired to be given the Pont-de-l'Arche on the river Seine, four leagues from Rouen.¹ The Prince made this claim his personal affair. He spoke of it to the minister, and told the Duc de Longueville that the matter was settled, and that the cardinal had only asked him for eight days to make the queen consent.

Le Tellier, speaking to me one day of the submission of mind which the queen seemed to have to the counsels of Cardinal Mazarin, said that it was not always as great as people imagined; that she had many ideas of her own; and that she saw clearly that the conduct of her minister was bad in certain things; she saw that he made persons languish for rewards, and for that reason he had few friends even among those who received them, while all those whom he had bound to him by half-promises long-delayed were his enemies; that these methods made him lose many followers; that he never was able to determine on anything; that he did not take precautions enough against the hatred of his enemies, while he did not care enough for his friends. He assured me that she had often commanded him to warn the cardinal of his faults, in order that he might correct them and by thus changing his ways pacify the mutterings of those who, with some reason, complained of him.

But though the queen did not approve of all her minister's

¹ He also demanded eight hundred thousand livres; but this seeming too hard a proposal he reduced it to four hundred thousand, which the cardinal promised him. — FR. ED.

conduct, she never openly made any complaint against him except such as were founded on his too great gentleness and the fact that he pardoned too easily. She thought herself obliged to sustain him. She feared to weaken herself by weakening him.

It seems to me appropriate to relate on this subject a conversation that Commandeur de Jars and I had with her about this time, which agrees with what Le Tellier told me. The queen, speaking to us one evening of public affairs, came down to private ones, and to details about persons, and said to us: "You see, people are much mistaken when they think that the regard we have for those whom we trust has the power to hide from us their defects. I know them very clearly; but as no one is exempt from faults, I excuse them. I am sorry; but I do not love them less if I find in them the principal things, of which fidelity and security are the chief. I am satisfied with those, and I bear the rest. I have even this feeling for such persons — I dislike to make known their defects, or complain of the faults they commit with good intentions and from their natural temper, of which they are not the masters."

I am not convinced that the queen, so equitable in her feeling, then knew all that was blamable in the soul of Cardinal Mazarin. I think she often had moments of great discernment about him, and that she did not always approve of his conduct or of all his actions; nevertheless, her kindness excused them, understanding well that no man is perfect. But her perceptions and her reflections were somewhat obscured by the pains he took to preserve her esteem, and because the visible iniquity which persecuted him made her regard him as the victim of evils which always accompany the minority of kings. She believed that he bore upon his shoulders unjustly the hatred of those who were envious

of his place and favour, rather than of those who sincerely condemned his faults; and pity, as much as reason and justice, had much to do with her constancy.

It may be said, moreover, and with truth, in order to make known the queen's sentiments on the matter, that she was not altogether blind in the confidence she thus placed in her minister; and remarks which I have made elsewhere will prove it. Those who saw the cardinal in private told me that the queen's firmness (from which he received all his power and all his glory) displeased him at times when she was necessary and could be advantageous to him; that he complained of it to them, saying she hampered him in matters that she thought useful for the service of God, the authority of the king, or to public or private welfare; that he dreaded the opposition she made to him in such encounters, and that she paid too much attention to what pious people said to her; that she was stubborn, and made him uneasy every time he had to oppose her opinion on things that touched her heart regarding her conscience and the king's interests. These complaints began with his rise to favour, and they increased as the queen became less lazy and more perceptive of the welfare of the State and what her virtue required of her.

The Prince de Condé now began to give trouble to Cardinal Mazarin by demanding the Pont-de-l'Arche, and already the minister had placed that affair among those that the queen would not consent to. It is easy to see, from her natural feelings, that she could not have liked the proposal; and it would have been advantageous to her and her minister if the Prince de Condé had been able to see that the difficulty was as real as it actually was, and if he could have understood that he was refused by her rather than by the minister. During the siege of Paris the Duc de Longueville

had asked for this place. The minister, who always promised readily provided there was time to deliberate on the fulfilment of his promises, had replied to the Prince de Condé when speaking of other concessions to be made at that time that this particular favour could be easily granted. After this species of consent, the prince, discontented with the cardinal, and reconciled with his family, pressed him on the matter, and drew from him a more positive promise. He now wanted its fulfilment, and the cardinal would not satisfy him, because, he said, the queen resisted it.

Here, then, was the prince, excited by himself and his whole family. He talked as a master, and showed both spite and arrogance to the cardinal. The latter answered in self-defence that the place was of such consequence that it rendered the Duc de Longueville absolute master of Normandy, and that he, having the honour to be prime-minister to whom the king and queen had consigned the care of the interests of the State, was compelled to defend them. As the minister repeatedly answered the solicitations of the prince with these reasons, the latter, unable to bear any longer that he should dare to talk to him of the strength he showed in defending the State — he, whom he had seen so feeble and had so often maintained by his own protection — turned the subject to scorn, and ridiculing his assumption of strength on this occasion said as he left him, “Adieu, Mars!” and went off to boast to his family of the speech as if it were worthy to be immortalized.

The minister felt the insult; the whole Court was stirred up by the quarrel, and each man formed designs of his own on the prince's displeasure; the *frondeurs* waked up, they were not fast asleep; the parliament made a commotion; and the Court, as a consequence of the discord, broke up into cliques. The uneasiness was great among the false

friends of the minister. The benefits they had received from him obliged them in honour to stand by his interests; but they were in despair at not being able to drop them, and they began to cast about for some means to get rid of them. They imagined that, as the cardinal already had the hatred of the whole kingdom, he could not exist if he lost the friendship of the Prince de Condé, and that it was a bad omen for them that the royal blood abandoned him.

The queen, following her natural bent, which was always towards firmness, was as vigilant, as strong, and as confident in herself as usual, and said openly that she would not give the Pont-de-l'Arche to the Duc de Longueville; that to do so would be contrary to all the maxims of the State; and she did not care what might happen, provided she did her duty.

That resolution was praiseworthy, and the minister did his duty also in refusing the place to the Prince de Condé, and using the reasons of the queen to avoid making the gift. But he did not see that he was in too great a state of weakness himself to dare the anger of a prince of the blood during a regency, which naturally diminishes the royal power, and increases that of the princes. We shall therefore see him, in this as in so many other occasions, compelled to yield to their power and advise the queen, against her will and his, to let herself be vanquished. We shall also see, soon after, that it is dangerous for the princes of the blood to offend kings, who are often obliged to strike great blows to maintain their authority; and dangerous likewise to their ministers to lightly promise favours of great importance to persons of a rank and quality to hold them to their word.

For two or three days, the queen, the Prince de Condé, and the minister looked at one another with embarrassment.

One day, however, the Prince and the cardinal talked together at the council for some time ; but only on indifferent subjects. When the queen was obliged by decorum to answer the prince, she did so civilly, but without continuing a subject, and she avoided in every way being drawn into speaking of this affair.

At last, on the 14th of September, Le Tellier went to the prince on behalf of the cardinal, to inform him that he had again spoken to the queen of his claim, and that her Majesty, knowing of what importance the place was, could not consent to its remaining in the power of the Duc de Longueville, because she feared that the king her son would some day blame her for it; consequently he, the cardinal, was constrained to tell the prince he was unable to influence her mind, and he begged him to consider these reasons and not think harm of his inability to serve him on this occasion.

The prince replied to the ambassador that he begged him to go and tell the cardinal that he would no longer be his friend; that he held himself insulted by this failure of his promise, and was resolved not to endure it;¹ that he would never see him again except at the council; and that instead of the protection he had hitherto given him, he would henceforth be his declared enemy. On receiving this answer the cardinal sent word to the prince that he thought it very strange he should allow himself to be governed by his sister and his brother, the Prince de Conti, after what he

¹ Not only had Mazarin promised Pont-de-l'Arche and four hundred thousand livres to the Prince de Condé, but he had given him that promise in writing. Condé had sent the paper to the agents of M. de Longueville declaring that he himself was satisfied with the simple word of the cardinal. The minister first said that only the four hundred thousand livres were promised; and then that the written promise did not bind the queen. Hence Condé's violent anger. — FR. ED.

himself told him concerning them ; but that, as for him, the cardinal, he was always at the prince's service. This reply displeased the prince ; who did not like to have it thought that he let himself be governed. But it was pleasing to Madame de Longueville, as a plain and public sign of the power she was beginning to have over him.

And now the whole Court, on this outburst, rushed to the presence of the Prince de Condé. The *frondeurs* were enchanted to think him their leader, and to hope that they might some day fight beneath his banner. They did not doubt that with him they could overturn France as they pleased, and the illusion gave them pleasure. Some, even, of those who held the highest offices in the king's household, crown officers, went to see him ; and the small number of the apparently faithful who refrained from going did not love him less. The persons attached to the Duc d'Orléans followed the example of the others, and gave as their excuse that the Prince de Condé was their master's relative. Those who were attached to the king and queen alleged, for their justification, that the king and herself were neutral ; that the quarrel was a private one between the prince and the minister ; that they were good servants to their Majesties ; that if the Prince de Conti made a party they would immediately abandon him ; but, matters remaining as they were, they could not fail to offer their services to the first prince of the blood.

Their proceeding, nevertheless, was blamable. This quarrel was that of the king and queen ; right and reason were on the side of the regent and her minister. But there were few virtuous enough to be true to their duty ; and those whom honour and integrity held in this condition said little, hesitated between the two sides, remained ambiguous, and declared for neither.

Among those who said they belonged to the party and

friends of the minister, two had to justify themselves to him for having visited the Prince de Condé. Their excuse was that they merely saw him, and did not speak to him or offer him their services. These two were the Duc de Candale and Jarzé. The latter had said at the house of the Prince de Condé, speaking of the minister, that he was very lofty and showed by his indifference that he feared nothing. The cardinal did, in fact, put a good face upon the matter; and when any one made him speeches on the subject, he answered coldly that he had no enemies; that he desired to serve the Prince de Condé, and was sorry for his displeasure; that the queen was the one who would not grant what he asked; and that persons would give him pleasure by making him no offers on the subject. He said, moreover, that he took no stand against the prince, to whom he was under obligations; and having for protectors the king and queen he feared nothing.

Many of the ambiguously faithful worked for peace among them the Duc de Rohan, who was under equal obligations to the Prince de Condé and the minister, and, wishing to stand well with both, desired to see them reconciled. But a greater voice than all these was needed for success — that of self-interest, the master of the Court.

The Abbé de La Rivière, in order to force the cardinal to support his nomination in Rome, and also for the good of the State, urged his master, the Duc d'Orléans, to work for peace. Monsieur, left to his own feelings, seeing the minister in a bad position, would have been willing enough to abandon him; and in that case would have sought to put a follower of his own in his place. He feared that by supporting the cardinal any longer he should himself share the hatred of the public and that of all honest men throughout the kingdom who, without any real foundation of right or justice, made

profession of despising the cardinal. But his favourite, the abbé, did not like the *frondeurs*. He feared the empire they might easily obtain over the mind of his master if he once entered into their sentiments. He told him (as he himself related to me) that it was dangerous to allow the Prince de Condé to form such high designs; that in course of time all France would be for him, and it was therefore better to let him live at Court and keep his, the Duc d'Orléans', superiority over him than to let him form a great party, the evils of which might lead to the worst extremities. He made the duke at last understand that, under the present state of things, he ought to support the minister.

The Prince de Condé, whose inclination had no leaning to civil war, knowing of the Duc d'Orléans' intention, went to see him and was a long time shut up in private with him. The duke entreated the prince not to allow a party to be formed of the factious, unruly spirits who already surrounded him; he conjured him to prefer the public peace to his private feelings. The Prince de Condé promised to avoid for several days these useless demonstrations; he placed his interests in the duke's hands, and together they gave a commission to the Abbé de La Rivière to bring about a peace.

Madame de Longueville and the Prince de Conti did not wish for peace. They had great designs, which perhaps made them dream of becoming what Madame de Beaujeu and her husband had formerly been under Charles VIII., when they drove out the Duc d'Orléans and governed the State as they pleased for a long course of years. When they saw that a negotiator was chosen they offered him secretly, as he told me later, to establish him as prime minister in place of the cardinal if he would join with them and persuade his master to consent to the ruin of the man they desired to be rid of.

The Abbé de La Rivière would not listen to this proposal;

he professed to love the State; he may also have thought that not being cardinal as yet he could not maintain himself in so high an office. He was afraid, seeing the impossibility of harmonizing the interests of his master with the ambition of Madame de Longueville, that the Prince de Conti might in order to make their agreement null, again take from him his nomination for the hat. In the midst of such perils he was wise enough to wish to avoid them all.

September 15th, the Prince de Condé came to see the queen, followed by a great troop of courtiers. He was a long time with her, and the minister was present. Their talk was of common things, but the prince addressed the cardinal once or twice, a sign of some relenting. The next day, September 16, he came to the council, where he talked to the Duc d'Orléans of his claims, affecting to speak very loudly in order that the queen might hear him. He begged Monsieur to remember that the Pont-de-l'Arche had been promised him by the minister with his consent; and, that being so, he was obliged to maintain his own interests.

After he left the council, long conversations were held between the queen, the Duc d'Orléans, the minister, the Abbé de la Rivière, and Le Tellier. It was then that measures were taken to appease the quarrel which were much to the disadvantage of the king and queen. The latter, in spite of her high-minded sentiments, had the mortification of being forced to unsay all her protestations that she would never give that place to the Duc de Longueville. She ought not to be blamed for this; she maintained the king's interests as long as it was possible for her to do so, but she was abandoned by all those who might have supported her. Cardinal Mazarin dared not speak against the Prince de Condé; and the Duc d'Orléans, under advice of the Abbé de La Rivière, was of opinion that the prince should be satisfied. With

such support the claimant was so strong that it was impossible to refuse him.¹

The cardinal resolved, therefore, to satisfy the prince's claims, seeing the many embarrassments he would have upon his shoulders if he resisted any longer. He desired no greater good at this moment than to avoid present perils and reach the king's majority, to which he looked as the remedy for all his woes. So that Le Tellier, who knew him perfectly, used to say of him that he thought only of getting through each day as he lived it.

When the Prince de Condé had accepted the gift now made to him he went at once to the Duc d'Orléans to thank him. Then he followed him to the queen, to whom he gave the thanks he owed for such a present. She at once commanded that the minister should be summoned to take part in the reconciliation and in the conversation, which was public, sufficiently civil on the part of the prince, and entirely submissive on that of the cardinal. The Maréchal de Villeroy, after a while, drew the Prince de Condé aside and asked him if he was satisfied; whether anything remained in his heart that might trouble the Court in future; and whether the marriage of the Duc de Mercœur still displeased him; begging him to answer frankly, because it was useless to have granted him the other favours he had asked if they could not produce the entire harmony that the cardinal desired to renew with him. The prince replied, as the maréchal told me on the same day, that he was satisfied; and as for the marriage, whether it displeased him or not, having given his consent thereto he should not complain of

¹ According to Guy-Joly, the understanding was so good between the Duc d'Orléans and the Prince de Condé on this affair, that at supper they pelted each other with oranges; and he adds that a story was current that the two princes sent a letter to the cardinal thus directed: *A l'illustrissimo Signor Facquino*. — FR. ED.

it; and as for himself, he should always be ready to render to the queen the respect he felt that he owed to her.

Though these words seemed to cover a certain secret satisfaction, they would doubtless have been followed by ill-effects if the prince had not had a sister. But he was powerfully urged by that princess that the queen's benediction, which he knew she had granted against her will, observed to give him a stronger liking for that tyranny. The marriage of the Duc de Mercœur and Mademoiselle Mancini, which would otherwise not have angered him, was the pretext Madame de Longueville now used to keep alive his will to the cardinal.

The queen did me the honour to say to me on that same day, as I was telling her of some remarks made by the followers of the Prince de Condé, that he had never expressed to her any aversion to that marriage; but at any rate she was not obliged to follow blindly all his fancies; she intended to conclude the marriage, and she now saw by the dislike every one had to it how advantageous it would be to the cardinal. The queen saw clearly that her minister was hated, inasmuch as she admitted herself that what was a great good to him was thought a great evil by those who composed her Court. She knew that this hatred was unjust and that the Prince de Condé, who could not reasonably expect her minister not to give his niece to the Duc de Mercœur, owed him at least some gratitude for his respectful submission. It was indeed great, for had it not made the cardinal say he preferred the prince's friendship to the advantages of his family and his personal interests?

VI.

1649.

THE cardinal, whose mind was full of ideas, and who well knew how to turn himself to all sides, now made some of his confidants speak privately to Madame de Longueville. He assured her that he desired to be her friend, and to acquire her good-will he was ready to do all that was possible to satisfy her. The proposition was pleasantly received. She was working only to gain influence and she thought she might hope for it in this direction. The Duc d'Orléans and the Prince de Condé each wanted for himself more power. Madame de Longueville and the Prince de Conti also wanted for themselves to have a share in favour. All, in consequence of the minister's position, believed they could reach their ends better through him than through others. Thus it was not distasteful to them to leave him where he was, provided he was willing to satisfy their desires; and from the difficulties they found in getting rid of him they passed easily to an intention of enduring him in office, on condition of getting out of him all they wanted. The cardinal, slyer than the others, in order to gain time worked, on his side, to convince them by these very reasons which seemed so opposed to him; and he let them know by persons who seemed to be their friends, that it would be more convenient for all to leave him to enjoy the advantages his favour gave him, because another than he would use that favour with more arrogance.

While Cardinal Mazarin was thinking of his own preservation, the queen fell ill, no doubt from vexation at seeing no end to these quarrels, in spite of all she had done to pacify them. She vomited bile and had even a little fever, and was several days without seeing any but those whom she could not dismiss. During this time she received the Duc de Longueville, who had been sent for to make his acknowledgments for the promise of the Pont-de-l'Arche. As he knew that this gift had been made to him in spite of the queen's wishes, his compliments were succinct, and the queen on her side treated him coldly. He promised, however, to do what he could to soften the Prince de Condé ; but it is to be supposed that he did not take much pains to persuade him, for if that prince of the blood had been really pacific, the duke would not have had what he had just obtained through his arrogance.

The lawless schemes of Madame de Longueville were the real source of all these evils. She was not altogether content with what she had done. To satisfy her wholly (in addition to this place thus given to her), the Prince de Marsillac must be honoured, and it was at this crisis that she obtained the *tabouret* for his wife and the right for himself to enter the courtyard of the Louvre in his coach. These advantages put him above the dukes and on a level with the princes, although he was neither the one nor the other. He did not come of a sovereign family ; he was only a nobleman, and his father the Duc de La Rochefoucauld was not dead. But he was sufficiently *grand seigneur* and had enough consideration in the great world to be able to maintain his foolish visions.

Madame de Longueville had raised to the rank of being one of her best friends Madame de Pons, daughter of I. de Vigeant and widow of M. de Pons, who claimed to belong

to the illustrious house of d'Albret. This lady was sufficiently amiable, civil, and worthy in her behaviour. All the wit she possessed was employed in flattery. She was not in the least handsome, but she had a very pretty figure and a fine bust. She pleased by her reiterated flattery, which brought her friends and false commenders, while the friendship of Madame de Longueville, openly shown, gave her influence. The Abbé de La Rivière had for some time past attached himself to her by ties of inclination and policy. For, regarding Madame de Longueville as a person who made a great figure at Court, he thought that Madame de Pons might be useful to him in pressing his claim for a cardinal's hat. He thought it very useful to gain a friend near the princess who would support his interests, and serve him as means to negotiate through her any matters that might turn up.

Madame de Pons was as shrewd and ambitious as she was adulating. She was not, any more than the Prince de Marsillac, ducal or princely. But her late husband was loved by those who called themselves of the true house of d'Albret, and he had left her enough title, even if chimerical, to aspire to that prerogative. She asked the minister that the queen should grant her the *tabouret* ;¹ and the friendship of Madame de Longueville who protected her, joined to that of the Abbé de La Rivière, who negotiated this affair, were causes powerful enough to obtain for her what she wanted. It was this that caused the false show of peace, which was only a truce in the veritable quarrel. It was this that made the Duc d'Orléans say, a few days earlier, that all things

¹ This question of *tabourets*, which stirred the heart of the Court and the whole nobility, was nothing less than the elevation to princely rank of all to whom the queen granted the *tabouret*. This honour belonged at that time to none but princes of the blood, bastards of the kings of France, and to the houses of Savoie and Lorraine. — FR. ED.

would now be harmonized ; and it was this, in conclusion, that was one of the sources of the troubles that have since assailed the Court.

As soon as these great points regarding the Prince de Marsillac and Madame de Pons were granted, the Prince de Condé became mild and tractable. He seemed to wish to render to the queen the respect he owed her ; he submitted without reserve to all her wishes ; and the Abbé de La Rivière, speaking to the queen before me of this affair, told her he had exacted from the Prince de Condé that he would be reconciled to the cardinal without stipulations of any kind, and remain his friend in the future ; and that the prince had sincerely promised it. The prince himself said the same to her ; he assured her of his fidelity, embraced the minister and promised him his friendship, protesting that he wished to support his interests. Thus there seemed to be in all minds a general satisfaction. There was only one reserve, namely : that the Prince de Condé, promising everything for himself, would not answer positively for the Prince de Conti. But this gave no anxiety to the minister, because he believed he had satisfied Madame de Longueville, and imagined that the disgust the Prince de Condé had felt at the conduct of his brother in leaving him to enter Paris at the time of the blockade was the cause of this reserve.

The queen was semi-contented in the thought that after so many troubles she might hope for some repose. The minister was satisfied in beholding so large a number of enemies the less. The Abbé de La Rivière regarded this general conciliation as the work of his hands. Madame de Longueville's desires and those of the Prince de Marsillac were fulfilled, and seeing themselves masters of the Court they had almost nothing to wish for, except the duration of their success. But the *frondeurs* and the malcontents were

desperate at seeing the great schism end in so trifling a manner, and their own scheme vanish like smoke.

The stars then ruling were too contrary to peace to leave the Court long at rest. The calm did not last long. It was almost immediately broken by the resentment that all the Court people felt against the two *tabourets*. All who bear the name of d'Albret, if they have a true right to it, count kings among their ancestors; and besides this, many other great families in France claim high prerogatives. That of La Rochefoucauld is ancient and illustrious, but the sons of dukes had never had these advantages; and the whole *noblesse* felt itself affronted by the present preference. Every individual looked in his title-deeds for claims to the rank of princes, and for ancient alliances which might serve to raise them to it. In the multitude of great seigneurs who filled the Court there was not one who did not feel that he could be a prince as well as the two now raised to that dignity. The dukes and marshals of France, wishing to overthrow the new rank of the Prince de Marsillac and Madame de Pons, said they were themselves the *grande*s of the kingdom, and while they did not oppose the *tabourets* without duchies which had just been bestowed, they wished to be treated in the same manner, and that their children should have the same rank before inheriting their duchies as had now been bestowed on the Prince de Marsillac.

The queen, who hated the Prince de Marsillac and cared nothing for Madame Pons, listened placidly to the complaints of the nobles. But as she had hoped by this very means to re-establish peace at Court, the same reason obliged her to maintain what she had done. One evening a person present [the Commandeur de Jars] told her of the uproar against the new *tabourets*. She answered that an outcry was always made against everything; that the patents of the new dukes,

which she had granted some years earlier, had made the same uproar; this was the same thing and would subside as easily. She was mistaken; for while kings can raise to the highest dignities private individuals, it being reasonable that our masters should choose those who please them most and favour them, to bestow the rank of princes is a very different matter, and affronts the great families who have equal claims to it. The queen now learned on this occasion that kings cannot always do what they please, and that certain rules must be observed by them, or they fall into great embarrassments.

This general dissatisfaction gave rise to an assembly of the nobles, which proved strong enough to destroy the new *tabourets* and annul the important negotiation just concluded. The Marquis de Cœuvres, son of Maréchal d'Estrées, the Marquis de Leuville, and some others proposed to complain to the queen, and resolved to assemble. They met at the house of the Marquis de Montglat, grand-master of the wardrobe, where ten or a dozen gentlemen of rank were present. It was there proposed to elect a leader to present their reasons, and the Maréchal de l'Hôpital was chosen for that employment. He willingly consented, for he was ill-pleased that other marshals of France had received dukedoms, while he, who was one of the oldest marshals and had formerly served the State well, had nothing.

Many persons of rank joined this company, — Saint-Luc, Saint-Mesgrin, Brancas, and many others. They went, the same day, to the queen, who was in her circle and knew nothing of their intentions. At first she was much astonished to see the nobles arrive in a body with a leader at their head. They filled her cabinets; and even those who were most nearly attached to her were there with the rest: the Commandeur de Jars, de Souvré, and the chief

officers of the king were all present. They were quite convinced that she did not care much to maintain the favours she had granted more from policy than inclination; in fact they believed, with some foundation, that they were giving her a species of pleasure.

As she saw among this troop many of those whom she liked the most, she received it gently, merely replying that she would consider what she had better do. Their supplications had the success they hoped for; that is to say, their complaints, coming from a cause for which she and her minister had no liking, did not displease her. And those who made them were able to hope that the *tabourets*, given only by compulsion, might be revoked by her in a way that should give the Prince de Condé no right to complain.

This news, spread about Paris, gave great joy to those who loved order and those who loved disorder. Wise men thought it was right to oppose the unbridled ambition of private individuals; the others rejoiced in general over the revolt of the nobles. The Prince de Condé was blamed for giving his protection to chimerical pretensions which affronted all persons of high rank; Madame de Longueville was assailed by slander; and the Abbé de La Rivière was lashed with invective, threatened, and treated as a favourite is when hated from envy. He was a man of low birth, and among some good qualities he had certain bad ones.

The next day this troop of nobles assembled again to consider the best means of sustaining themselves. They wished to avoid the mortification of failing in their purpose, and desired that their party should be so well constructed that it could not fail in its effect. Unless they possessed that advantage, they did not wish to affront the Prince de Condé and acquire his ill-will uselessly. Accordingly they deputed eight of their number to visit the Duc d'Orléans and entreat

him very humbly to consider the justice of their complaints. These eight deputies were Saint-Luc, Saint-Mesgrin, Manicamp, the Marquis de Cœuvres, Villarceaux, Fosseuse, Leuville, and the Commandeur de Souvré. Monsieur replied that the queen and the Prince de Condé had wished what had been done, and that, as for him, he took no part in it.

From there they went to pay their respects to the Prince de Condé, who received them rather coldly. He told them that the queen and Monsieur were the ones who had favoured the affair; that, as for him, he had only given his vote with the rest; but being bound, by many reasons, to keep to it, he was amazed that his friends should wish to give him annoyance by opposing his plans with tumults and public meetings which would surely bring upon him the hatred of the nobles. He said he could bear this patiently from those who had never promised him their friendship; but as for those whom he had believed to be his friends, he would never forgive them.

The Duc de Beaufort, who delighted in all that could embroil the Court, wishing to please this assembly, sent one of his gentlemen to offer them his services, either as their leader, if they thought him worthy, or as a comrade, ready to enter into all their interests. They thanked him civilly, and deputed some of their number to return their formal thanks, but without accepting his offers; because they did not want the princes, and still less the leader of the *frondeurs*, lest the queen should be made to think they had thoughts very different from their really innocent actions.

Under the first feelings of anger and excitement which those who composed the assembly had about the *tabourets*, some of them proposed to send deputies to the Abbé de La Rivière to tell him the wrong he had done to all of them by making his master agree to an affair so against the interests

of people of rank. Their intention was to mingle with this remonstrance a few words of insult, but their companions diverted the storm. The abbé told them that he had only done as he did to oblige Miossens, brother-in-law of Madame de Pons; and that the Prince de Condé and Madame de Longueville having already asked the queen for a patent for the Prince de Marsillac, he had thought that he ought to serve his friend on this occasion. But that if the Prince de Condé, in consideration of their complaints, gave up the point as to Marsillac, he would willingly ask his master to do the same in regard to Madame de Pons, as he had no wish to displease the public for the sake of individuals.

The Prince de Condé, on hearing of this answer, reproached the abbé, telling him that he threw the whole assembly on his shoulders, and assuring him, half-laughing, that it would have been a glorious distinction to share anything with him, even the hatred of the nobles. However, the prince, who was not easy to astound, was a good deal surprised when he saw that in spite of the declaration he had made against those of his friends who joined in this assembly, very few of them quitted it. He openly complained to Jarzé, who, knowing well that he had displeased him, went to see him. He shut himself up with the prince, as he told me himself, and represented to him that every one was amazed that, for a friend of his brother and sister who was none of his, he was willing to draw upon himself the ill-will of so many honourable men and persons of rank. He told me that the prince replied in a kindly tone: "You are right, my poor Jarzé; but I am resolved never to disunite myself from my family. I know my strength when I have them on my side; and you have now only to choose between my friendship or my enmity."

Jarzé, who did not want to lose the good graces of the

prince, answered that inasmuch as he must take a side, he should quit that of the nobles, and would rather renounce the rank of nobility than that of the prince's follower. As no one liked him, because he was by nature brusque, conceited, satirical, and frivolous, those whom he thus abandoned did not spare him; they all took this occasion to insult him in their usual manner, which went far beyond the justice that honourable men owe to one another.

I wish to neither blame nor approve the sarcasms which were launched against Jarzé; but he might be defended on this occasion for preferring the friendship of a great prince to a public interest, which would have been considered a grand thing in a Roman, though a small thing in a Frenchman. But it must be owned that Jarzé, in nearly all the occasions of his life, could be blamed without injustice; because, lacking judgment, his conduct was defective in every way. He showed this only too plainly in his attachment to the Prince de Condé; for he was the cause, to a certain degree, of many of the evils which, without him, might never have happened to that great prince.

The princes [not those of the blood] also assembled at the hôtel de Chevreuse, because they were shocked by the Duc de Bouillon and his brother the Maréchal de Turenne attempting to obtain their rank. The real princes determined to unite with the nobles in opposing the elevation of that family and all others who were endeavouring by intrigues to take precedence with them. The Duc de Vendôme was deputed to inform the queen of their intention, and to entreat her very humbly not to think it wrong that they should try to preserve the advantages which their birth conferred upon them.

This union was by no means displeasing to the minister. He saw with joy that the Prince de Conti and Madame de

Longueville, protectors of the Prince de Marsillac, the Prince de Condé, protector of the Duc de Bouillon, and the Abbé de La Rivière, that of Madame de Pons, were about to be hated by the princes and nobles, and he liked the opposition which was now being made to ambitious dreams which could only bring trouble to the Court. The queen, who at first wished, out of caution, to maintain the new *tubourets*, now followed her inclination and the sentiments of her minister, and did not disagree with what he did; in the evenings, at her *coucher* she allowed those who were most vehement against the false princes to speak to her freely against them.

Politicians said that the queen ought to take this occasion to draw to her all the nobles by openly favouring them against the Prince de Condé. But the cardinal, who did not want to offend the latter, kept silence, — convinced that such reserve would only produce good effects for himself, — held himself still, and was pleasant to all.

After various negotiations on both sides the Prince de Conti, who had not yet seemed entirely reunited to the queen, resolved to be reconciled to the cardinal, or at least to pretend to be. The Duc d'Orléans presented him to the queen, answered for his attachment to the king's service, and assured her that in future he would be wholly among the friends of the cardinal. The Abbé de La Rivière, who had procured this union through that which he had sought to have with Madame de Longueville, was the cause of his master's consenting to be the mediator of this peace; and the reconciliation seemed likely, judging by the words that all sides said to one another, to be very sincere and durable.

But people of this kind are not accustomed to respect fidelity and make a virtue of it; as a usual thing dissimulation is one of their finest qualities. Madame de Longueville was a party to the reconciliation which, so far as she was

concerned, was a confirmation of the first. The cardinal made her great protestations of services; and the princess, on her side, promised him her friendship, assured him that she wished to be his friend, and that she should never join again in anything that was contrary to his interests, or displease the queen by any of her actions. And for some time she said publicly that having done her best to get the minister dismissed, the difficulties had disgusted her, she was weary of intrigue, and should now think only of amusing herself. This reunion of the royal family seemed to presage some repose; but the only effect that it really produced was to delay the marriage of the Duc de Mercœur.

The Duc d'Orléans, to avoid the hatred of the nobles, resolved to abandon the matter of the *tabourcts*. His favourite consented to this because he preferred to keep friends in the kingdom rather than serve the interests of Miossens and Madame de Pons only. He liked the lady as a person who pleased him and might be useful to his interests; and Miossens as an honourable man and his friend; but he cared too much for himself to risk his fortunes to please them. The Duc d'Orléans accordingly notified the assembly of the nobles that he would not disoblige them, either as a body or as private individuals; and so doing he did what the queen might have done herself in order to win their good-will. She was prevented by the shrewd calculation of the cardinal, who was convinced that the contrary action was necessary to his preservation, which he considered as much as he did that of the State.

Parliament, in spite of its professions, did not cease to give certain little signs of its ill-will. It protected the people of Bordeaux, whose revolt was gathering fresh force instead of diminishing. Many reasonable men declared that the governor, the Duc d'Épernon, by nature violent, had drawn upon

himself the hatred of these rebels, which had some foundation, and that the people of Bordeaux were not altogether wrong in resisting him and demanding another governor. According to all laws of equity and justice our kings ought not to send tyrants to govern their people; they are their fathers as well as their masters, and ought to guard them against the oppression and malice of those who rule them under their authority. But it is true that the city of Bordeaux has always been seditious and rebellious, and that its inhabitants, who are distant from Court and have long obeyed English laws, are easily excited to revolt.

The queen and her council had lately thought it advisable to send the Maréchal Du Plessis to devise some remedy for their disobedience. But when the marshal saw the condition of their minds, he wrote to the queen that matters were in so bad a state that he believed they could be remedied only by the presence of a large army, which would give the Duc d'Épernon the means of avenging himself amply. He also informed the queen that he had not thought proper to enter the city, because the burghers would not agree to a cessation of the riot in order to receive him. They had, in fact, threatened to stone de l'Isle, lieutenant of the bodyguards, who had lately carried to Bordeaux some orders from the king; which shows clearly the disorder and rebellion of this province, and the little inclination it had to peace.

The assembly of the nobles continued, and now grew formidable even to those to whom it was not displeasing. On the 4th of October, the Maréchal de l'Hôpital, who, as I have said, was its leader, presented to the queen a memorial on behalf of this body, in which all its reasons were distinctly written. From the demands it made it was easy to infer that this affair might become a thing of great ulterior consequences. Many mischievous spirits were in it, with designs

that were dangerous to the State, and to the minister in particular. Certain members, who, like Brutus and Cassius, were friends of liberty, and consequently opposed to the power of favourites, and even to the monarchy, demanded the convocation of the States-general, in order that the outrages committed against the laws of the State should be remedied by that body.

These propositions, which always serve as a pretext for disloyalty, alarmed the Duc d'Orléans, the Prince de Condé, and the minister; for none of them desired to tread the path of reformation. They resolved, in the council, to leave the nobles to hope for the revocation of the patents of which they complained; and the Duc d'Orléans, as he left the queen's presence, said aloud that the matter must be postponed till the king's majority.

In spite of this, the Duc de Vendôme was deputed to visit the assembly of nobles on behalf of the princes. He spoke with eloquence and vigour; represented the common interest, as much of princes as of noblemen, in opposing the errors that had of late years slipped into the Court. He complained of the assumptions of the Duc de Bouillon, and the consent he seemed to have obtained to his claims, and he begged the nobles to unite with the princes in a common defence; promising them, on behalf of the latter, to do as much for them in all interests of this nature. The assembly received the Duc de Vendôme and gave him the highest seat. Then, after deliberating on his request, they resolved to accept this union on the conditions named; that is, to oppose the rank of prince demanded by the Duc de Bouillon as sovereign of Sedan, and that of Madame de Pons and the Prince de Marsillac.

The nobles deputed some of their number to go to the princes, and thank them for the honour they had received,

and the princes in return gave them their right hands and conducted them to their carriages. They agreed together on a concordat, which they signed, reciprocally pledging assistance and protection, and promising not to adjourn until the queen had granted their demands. By this they meant the reformation of all the abuses of this nature which had slipped in during the regency. These concerned not only the Duc de Bouillon, the Prince de Marsillac, and Madame de Pons, but the Comtesse de Flex, who was already in possession of the *tabouret*, in consideration of Madame de Senecé her mother. They also complained, not being hindered by the grandeur of the house of Rohan, that the queen had given the *tabouret* to Mademoiselle de Montbazon. This was attempting to take away a privilege of which the lady had been in possession for a length of time, and the matter would thus have troubled the whole Court. They spoke also against Madame de La Trémouille, who had the *tabouret* not only for herself but for her daughters, who could not, they said, possess it unless with the rank of princess, as the daughters of dukes never had it.

The assembly of the nobles now resolved to send deputies to the clergy to invite them to make common cause with them, inasmuch as great numbers of persons of rank were in that body who had as much reason as themselves not to permit their prerogatives to be lightly given away. The Chevalier de La Vieuville and Laigues, who were chosen for this delegation, knowing that five or six bishops were to dine that day with the Archbishop d'Embrun, went there to meet them and perform their commission. Most of these prelates were thinking only of good cheer; but the coadjutor, who was among them, and who had inspired the nobles to this proceeding, expressed a wish that the clergy should share in the interests of the nobles. The desire for

empty fame, which he imagined he could gain from a report of his intrigues, made him seize with joy upon every opportunity to make himself talked about. It was agreed that all should meet at the Augustins to consider how they should reply to the deputation; a day was chosen and their brother clergy were invited to attend.

The queen, knowing of this resolution, sent for the bishops, and told them that she intended to satisfy all the demands of the nobles, and wished to tell them of this purpose in order that they might not assemble, as the matter was now in such a state that the nobles had no need of it. The bishops at once informed the assembly of the queen's promise to satisfy its demands, and the respect they themselves were resolved to pay her by obeying her command. The nobles were not pleased, and the whole assembly murmured against the bishops as if they were masters of the State. Had the clergy joined with the nobles, parliament would perhaps have taken part, and thus, without designing it, the States-general would have been formed.

The dukes resolved to assemble like the rest, and they deputed the Maréchal de Schomberg to go to the assembly of the nobles and ask for reciprocal union, for the preservation of their dignities and the suppression of favours done without justification to some of their number. After which they rendered an account of their action to the queen, whose anxiety now became too strong to let the affair go on any longer without remedy. A council was held on the means of putting an end to it entirely, at which it was resolved to send to the assembly four marshals of France to signify to it authoritatively the queen's will. This was done on the following day with all the gravity required by the occasion.

As the nobles were proposing to send other deputies to

the clergy to force them to take part in their cause, they were informed that the marshals were on their way to visit them as messengers from the queen; and though they knew already that the deputation brought all that they had asked, they continued, tumultuously, their discussion, the malcontents among them being angry that they were treated so well.

The marshals — d'Estrées, de Schomberg, de l'Hôpital, and de Villeroy — having entered the assembly and taken the seats they were to occupy as chiefs and presidents of the nobility, they informed the nobles that her Majesty, having regard to their very humble supplication and to testify the good-will and esteem she had for their celebrated body, had been pleased to send them, the marshals, to assure the nobles that she had revoked the grant of the *tabourets* to the Prince de Marsillac and Madame de Pons; also that of the entrance to the Louvre to the Prince de Marsillac; she promised that no more should be said about it, and that if she did not keep her word she would permit them to assemble again. As for the Comtesse de Flex, she declared it was only in consideration of the services she had received from her mother, Madame de Senecé, that she had granted her the *tabouret*, and not on account of her birth or the blood of the Foix. Nevertheless, in order not to make the nobles uneasy, she would withdraw that favour. As for the Duc de Bouillon, her Majesty promised to make no innovations in his favour, and to give him none of the prerogatives he asked for; although it had been her intention to do so.

The four marshals of France offered to be responsible for the promises of the queen, and to sign them when executed. The result of this favourable harangue was that the nobles concluded to send to the princes to inquire if they were

satisfied, resolving not to accept the queen's favours until they received a reply.

The mischief-makers in the assembly attempted, in presence of the Maréchal d'Estrées, to attack the patents that the queen had granted early in her regency to him and to others, and endeavoured to show that they were included in the present promises of the queen just given through his lips. This malicious suggestion caused a great uproar, and the Maréchal d'Estrées, furious with anger, left the assembly, declaring that it was unjust to Frenchmen to cry out against the dignities which the kings gave to the nobles according to their custom and the laws of the State; and asserting that it was the interest of all to maintain them, inasmuch as all might hope to have the same reward for their services. After this uproar, all difficulties ended in agreeing to feel confidence in the words of the queen. And after many deputations to and fro, too many to relate in detail, it was resolved to ask for a patent from the queen, signed by herself and the four secretaries of State, in which, more particularly, the Duc de Bouillon should be excluded from all his demands (in order to satisfy the princes), and all the other favours should be revoked.

Some of the more ill-intentioned demanded, in addition to this patent, a declaration from parliament; but the wiser members, seeing that this was the cavilling of a bad cause, objected to the proposal, considering it shameful both to the king and to themselves. The queen, feeling that the assembly was degenerating into a sorry thing, resolved to send to it the officers of the crown, and all the persons of rank attached to the king, to herself, to the Duc d'Orléans and to the Prince de Condé. Some of these had already retired from the assembly when it began to talk of reforming the abuses of the State. Many others had left on account of

the Prince de Condé, who, up to this time had supported the affair of the *tabourets* as his own. But they were all obliged now to return and serve as barricades against the mutineers.

This great mass of persons of rank, who had power through their birth and dignities, carried the day against the seditious group, and caused a resolution to be passed by the assembly to accept the patent couched in the terms they had themselves demanded. They concluded finally to thank the queen very humbly for the kindness she had shown them and to separate without saying more of a junction with the clergy.

To this affair succeeded quarrels with parliament, which assembled to take sides with the people of Bordeaux. It was voted to make representations to the queen upon the interests of the latter, which really meant a defence of their revolt. President de Novion was charged to make them, and as his inclinations were *frondeur* and he had much wit, he acquitted himself with force and vigour, and was much applauded by those who at that time plumed themselves on being always against the Court. His harangue was followed by the news that the people of Bordeaux had seized the château Trompette and demolished it, in order that nothing might hinder their being masters of their town and province.

These disturbances, whether in the Court, the parliament, or the provinces, did not fill the coffers of the king. The princes of the blood helped to empty them, and the want of submission in parliament kept the people from paying their taxes. The Maréchal de La Meilleraye no longer concerned himself with the finances; and the minister, not as yet daring to declare that he intended to restore d'Émery, left them to be administered by two directors, d'Aligre and Morangis, men of integrity, but more fitted to be under the rule of an

able king, who wanted only faithfulness and honesty, than under a reign troubled by endless revolts and an avaricious minister overwhelmed by the king's necessities and his own. The finances collapsed entirely under the management of these directors, and the minister saw that it was necessary to give them a chief under whom the king's power would recover some strength. For all these reasons he resolved to bring back d'Émery, — knowing by experience that it is folly to imagine you can ever satisfy the public through its caprices. When subjects revolt, they are driven to it by causes of which they are ignorant; and as a usual thing what they demand is not what they need to pacify them.

The minister, resolving at last to propose the recall of d'Émery, was much astonished when he found in the Duc d'Orléans an obstacle to his wishes, and that instead of d'Émery he proposed the President de Maisons for the office, as more capable of filling it and more to the liking of every one, even the parliament. The duke declared that that body would be grateful to the queen for choosing one of their number to administer her finances; and, addressing Cardinal Mazarin, he advised him to make the appointment in order to show confidence and give to parliament convincing signs that he did not fear being accused by them of dipping into the coffers of the king.

This proposal angered the minister extremely, and obliged d'Émery to seek protection from the Prince de Condé through the Prince de Marsillac. In this he succeeded, and by the same means he won that of the Prince de Conti and Madame de Longueville, who supported his interests in every possible way. On this, placards were posted in all the streets and public squares of Paris, predicting the ruin of France through the return of d'Émery. The minister was insolently threatened and treated in the same manner as during the

war. The fear of a riot obliged him to suspend for a while the accomplishment of his will. La Vieuville, who had been superintendent of finances during the time of the late king, Louis XIII., and was banished to Holland by Cardinal Richelieu, where he spent many years, having returned to France by permission of the queen, had strongly desired, since his return, to recover his former office. He made offers to the minister and promised him an immense sum if he would give him power to bring out the hoarded coins of the people by a system of levying taxes which he declared would not inconvenience them. So that the minister, in the uncertainty of being able to bring back d'Émery, pretended to turn his thoughts to La Vieuville, and proposed him to the Duc d'Orléans, saying that as he disapproved of d'Émery, and the queen did not wish for President de Maisons, she hoped he would give his vote for the Marquis de La Vieuville.

The Duc d'Orléans, whose real wish was to oblige that president if he were able to do so without displeasing the queen, could not avoid consenting to this proposal, because it was just, and in order; and as he relaxed so far, d'Émery's friends worked upon him and upon the minister with such force and such success, that they finally obtained permission, secretly and from the minister only, that d'Émery should return to Paris. There he lived concealed for some days, busy in attending to his interests, the greatest of which was to change completely in his favour the feelings of the Duc d'Orléans. That prince, having held firm for some time, yielded at last after many conflicts to the cardinal's wishes. The Abbé de La Rivière, who had been one of d'Émery's friends, and had no ground to complain of him, and had only opposed him to give pleasure to President de Maisons and put a man in the finances who was wholly obliged to him,

resisted no longer, and was forced to let the affair go the way the current carried it. Thus d'Émery was again appointed to the finances to the satisfaction of the general public and his private friends.

He promised on his return to pay the fund-holders on the city [*rentiers sur la ville*], and applied to that purpose certain moneys which he distributed weekly. As there were many persons in Paris who held this sort of property, every one kept silence on his return. He soon made friends in parliament, and a man who, one year earlier, had been driven away with every mark of public hatred was now received with joy and benediction; so true is it that a people are governed only by caprice or by some petty interest. If d'Émery had returned with as much health as peace he would have had reason, according to his own maxims, to consider himself happy. He liked a life of pleasure and repose, and, consequently, favour and riches.

Chavigny since he had left prison had been an exile; but having a lawsuit against President Le Coigneux he made use of that pretext to ask permission of the queen to return to Paris. Cardinal Mazarin, naturally acquiescent, and urged by memories of the past, consented on condition that he should not see the queen. When he arrived, the whole Court went to visit him. The Prince de Condé went also, and promised him his friendship as before; and Chavigny, discontented and in disgrace, renewed the pledges of his attachment, always great, and now made stronger and closer by the ill-treatment he declared he had received from the cardinal. He also asked the Duc d'Orléans if it would be agreeable to him that he should go to the Luxembourg and pay his respects. The prince agreed, and he was well-received. The Abbé de La Rivière and Chavigny, who were enemies, visited each other with that apparent

civility practised in society by those who hate and envy one another.

Ambition, which is no doubt the dominant passion of a Court, will now show us one of the strangest adventures that ever happened in that of the queen. Jarzé, in spite of his attachment to the Prince de Condé, which he carefully concealed, had managed to keep in the good graces of the minister, by means of which he obtained the right to come to the queen's apartments during the evening hours. For want of wisdom and common-sense, he took it into his head to make profession, in the false and exaggerated style practised towards great personages, of extreme and tender emotion by continual flattery; and to show her by his zeal and his sentiments that he felt for her far more than the usual fidelity that subjects owe to their sovereigns.

As this vain imagination was ridiculous in itself, the queen took no notice of it. She answered him always in our presence as if his speeches were extravagant jests, to which she paid little attention. As for me personally, I was the last to perceive his behaviour and remark upon it. I thought it not worth noticing. One evening, however, my eyes were opened, and as we were about to retire, — Commandeur de Jars, Mademoiselle de Beaumont, and I, — I desired to impart my thoughts to them. After many precautions to prevent them from laughing at me, I told them what I had perceived in Jarzé, and asked them what it meant, being half-ashamed myself to imagine a thing so devoid of good sense, as much on account of the solid virtues of the queen as from the qualities of the man himself.

They, more malicious and shrewd than I, had for some time past been enlightened as to Jarzé's manœuvres, and they now burst into fits of laughter, asking me if I came from Japan or the court of the Great Mogul, and making fun

of me, not because I had no eyes, but because I was so late in using them. After joking thus, we began to talk the matter over seriously. Commandeur de Jars told us it was already making a stir in the world; that the Prince de Condé and Jarzé were in confidence together in this important folly, and the prince had said that a Spanish woman, no matter how devout and virtuous she was, could always be attacked with some degree of hope.

We then tried to penetrate the origin of this chimerical enterprise, and we concluded that it was founded on the fact that Madame de Beauvais, the queen's head waiting-woman, was a friend of Jarzé, and being neither young nor handsome but wanting friends, had flattered Jarzé with the idea that she would make him agreeable to the queen and would do him good offices. This promise, so far as she intended it, related only to Jarzé's fortune. But as he had much vanity and great imprudence, and did not narrow his desires to the limits of reason, he took it another way. Instead of endeavouring to please the queen as all other courtiers try to please their masters, he made a scheme to show her that his heart was burning with an involuntary flame, born in him by inclination, which respect stifled and which he dared not manifest except through his eyes. Perhaps he really believed that by the help of his friend he should succeed in pleasing the queen, just as a madman loses his reason in a fine cause.

On this preposterous action they had made — that is, the Prince de Condé and he, so it was believed — projects which had certain actual foundation, having for their end the overthrow of the cardinal. Jarzé, without considering the virtue of the queen, her age, her life, her morals, and the respect he owed her, intoxicated himself with the beauty of this scheme, and believed that his fall, in case it re-

sulted from so high an enterprise, would be more honourable to him than any grandeur or elevation he could attain in other ways.

The matter came very quickly to the ears of the cardinal; already his spies, to pay their court, were representing to him the affair as an intrigue of great importance. He loved the queen as a minister, and, believing himself necessary to her service, he clung to the possession of her good-will. He did not fear that his own grandeur would give her umbrage, because he knew her to be exempt from the spirit of dominion, and also somewhat lazy; nor did he fear a levity unworthy of a royal soul, and yet he was none the less troubled by this news. He did not feel it like a jealous man dreading to lose what he loved, because the attachment he had to the queen was not of that nature, but more that of a miser fearing to lose his treasure.¹

The queen was so incapable of encouraging Jarzé's extravagant folly that she would not even imagine that he had such thoughts. I know myself that she had incredible trouble in replying seriously to what Cardinal Mazarin said to her about it. She had judged of the man's sentiments by his natural temperament, which led him always to speak in hyperbole, and she took his flattery in that way. The minister knew this very well, and could not, for a thousand reasons, doubt how the matter would turn; but as persons who jest on all subjects are to be feared when they show themselves capable of mingling with their frivolity mischievous schemes, the cardinal could not bring himself to have the man at Court, particularly since he saw him attached to the interests of the Prince de Condé, although he himself could claim, through considerable benefactions, his entire fidelity.

¹ See appendix to this volume, on the relations of the minister to Anne of Austria.

Consequently, Jarzé's folly made the minister resolve to ruin him. He succeeded easily, and it was right that he should do so. He conceived also a great hatred to Madame de Beauvais, and resolved to have her sent away. He spoke of it to the queen, and turned the affair so adroitly to the confidence the Prince de Condé had in Jarzé, and the dangerous consequences of that intrigue, that the queen, who respected and followed the cardinal's advice on more important matters than this of Jarzé, abandoned the latter instantly and promised to treat him in such a way that he should feel all his life what a misfortune it was to fail in wisdom and good sense.

The queen, however, made several efforts to save her waiting-woman, and maintained to Cardinal Mazarin for a long time that she had no share in this folly. The minister knew that the woman was free-spoken, capable of saying all things and thinking all things, and that she had shown the queen, as if in jest, letters that Jarzé had written to her. The queen, who valued Madame de Beauvais, not for her virtues, nor for the beauty of her soul or that of her face, but because of her capable fingers and her extreme neatness, assured the cardinal, as was true, that in the letters shown to her there was nothing for which Madame de Beauvais or Jarzé could be blamed. She told him that they had made so little impression on her mind that she did not even remember what was in them, and that "Catau" (it was thus she called her) had always spoken to her of Jarzé as a worthy buffoon with a lively wit, about whom tales were told to amuse the public; and that in any case, all her women told her so much nonsense that she did not trouble herself to notice or reply to them.

The cardinal's state of mind was not to be cured in this way. On the contrary, it increased his uneasiness; the queen

was forced to abandon Madame de Beauvais, and promise that the woman should be dismissed. This being decided, the queen went out the next day early to visit a convent. Before starting, she ordered one of her people, her silversmith, to go to Madame de Beauvais in her name and order her to leave the Palais-Royal, herself, her husband and children, and deliver to him the keys of her coffers. Madame de Beauvais was amazed at this dismissal. She had just left the queen, having had the honour to dress her, and her Majesty had treated her as pleasantly as usual. She resisted for some time, and said she must see her mistress. She was compelled to obey, however, because the command had been so precise that her friends advised her not to resist it.

I was hated by that lady, and I cannot say with truth that she was unjust to me. But it is also true that I felt no joy at her departure. The evening of that day, being in the queen's room among a number of persons who spoke of her with contempt, as people usually speak of the unfortunate, I felt my soul as tranquil in respect to her as if I had never known her. The queen perceived this moderation and calling me to her said that I seemed inclined to weep at "Catau's" absence. I answered coldly that I needed no handkerchief to wipe my tears, but I could also assure her that I felt no joy, nor would any one hear me speak of her defects as I had formerly done. The queen, assuming then a serious face, did me the honour to say she esteemed me the more for it. I had not always been so virtuous ; but no doubt her misfortune was vengeance enough for me, and consequently my gentleness was more a sign of my satisfaction than of my goodness.

Some days later, the queen, when going to bed, said to Madame de Beaumont and to Comminges, who were alone with her, that it appeared she had a lover, and that faithful

friends had told her what was said in the world about Jarzé's folly. She added, with a mocking tone in which anger was noticeable, that he was very impertinent, and that she should be sorry if he carried his madness so far as to compel her to take notice of it. This speech meant much; and no doubt she had agreed with the cardinal to speak of Jarzé in this manner before persons who would warn him. Comminges perceived the queen's purpose, and the next day, seeing Jarzé arrive at the Palais-Royal, was about to speak to him and prevent him from entering the queen's presence; but being unable to approach him for a moment because some one addressed him, he was obliged to let him into the cabinet where the queen was dressing.

As Jarzé knew to some extent by the dismissal of his friend, Madame de Beauvais, the position in which he now stood at Court, he thought he did a stroke of clever policy by appearing to know nothing and to fear nothing. But the hour had come when he was fated to be punished for his imprudence. The queen, having it on her mind to rebuke him, did not fail, the moment she saw him, to attack him, but said, in a contemptuous tone, these very words: "Really, Monsieur de Jarzé, you are very ridiculous. I am told you play the lover. A pretty gallant, indeed! I pity you. They will have to send you to the Petites-Maisons. Though it is true we need not wonder at your madness—it is inherited,"—meaning by that his grandfather the Maréchal de Lavardin, who was passionately in love with the late queen, Marie de' Medici, and about whom her husband, Henri IV., used to joke with her.

Poor Jarzé was overwhelmed by this thunder-clap. He dared not say a word in his justification. He stammered and left the cabinet, full of trouble, pale and undone. In spite of his pain, perhaps he flattered himself already with

the sweet thought that the adventure was fine, the crime honourable, and that he was not ashamed of the accusation. The whole Court was instantly full of the event; the *ruelles* of the ladies rang with the sound of the royal words. The name of Jarzé was long heard everywhere in Paris; and the provinces quickly had their share of it. Many persons blamed the queen for showing such resentment, and said she had done Jarzé too much honour in deigning to stoop to such anger, which had injured the dignity of the crown. It may be said, in excuse for this little fault, that she would not have committed it had she not been forced to do so, by the fears of her minister, who, seeing Jarzé faithful to the Prince de Condé and ungrateful to himself, suspected that under this mask of buffoonery there lay some *frondeuse* malignity against him.

The consequences of this tale were dangerous to the State through its after events. That which in itself was but a trifle, being mixed with greater things, produced terrible results. The Prince de Condé, to console Jarzé under his affliction, took him to Saint-Maur two days later, and slighting the queen's outburst against him, declared publicly that he was his friend, and that he liked him. He said to all who would listen to him that during his quarrel with the minister, though Jarzé had seemed to be attached to the Court, he had really remained in his interests, and had only kept on terms with the cardinal because he wanted to retain his place as captain of the guards of M. le Duc d'Anjou, the present Monsieur.

The prince went farther; and as if the queen were not the mistress of her words and feelings, he loudly complained that she had reprimanded Jarzé without warning him, and that the cardinal had allowed it without his consent, — declaring that, as the queen had spoken to the Duc d'Orléans

and himself of her intention to send away her waiting-woman, and had made no secret of Jarzé's folly, she was equally bound to inform him of the resolution she had taken to maltreat him, as she knew he was one of his friends.

The queen replied that she had taken means to make Jarzé retire of his own accord, without obliging her to come to extremities. She said she had spoken of him with contempt before Comminges and Madame de Beaumont the preceding evening, hoping that they would not fail to warn him. But when, instead of that, he appeared before her eyes, the anger she felt against him got the better of her civility. The queen defended herself on this occasion with much unwillingness. She was displeased that the Prince de Condé should exact such dependence from her, and the day that he took Jarzé to Saint-Maur, she said to me, with much chagrin, that she was beginning to weary of the Prince de Condé's haughty manner of acting, and that the protection he was giving to Jarzé displeased her extremely.

The prince, whose very haughtiness was leading to his abasement, took up this affair with such warmth that he entreated the queen to see Jarzé and forgive him. One of his gentlemen told me, speaking of this matter, that if the queen did not pardon Jarzé, and kept firm on that point, there would be trouble in the quarter, and that the prince would make an uproar. Those were his very words. The phrase was a common one, but the meaning of it was extraordinary, for there is not a young lady in the land to whom, in an affair of this nature, liberty is not granted to act as she sees fit. It was then that the minister saw clearly that the friendliness shown to him by the Prince de Condé, Madame de Longueville, and the Prince de Conti was only feigned for the sole purpose of dragging from the

queen the patent of the Prince de Marsillac ; and their artful manner of acting now convinced him that he could never hope for sincere reconciliation on their side.

This trouble roused parliament and the Fronde. As the latter had not been able to endure the Prince de Condé's apparent reconciliation with the Court, imperfect though it was, they now began to recover vigour. They all wanted disunion in the cabinet, and they saw with joy that Cardinal Mazarin could not be satisfied with the Prince de Condé in this affair. The *frondeurs* hoped that when matters came to extremities they should be able to form an alliance with either the minister or the Prince de Condé for their own ends.

To all these disorders were added those of Bordeaux. The people of that place were protected by the Prince de Condé, who did not like the Duc d'Épernon, and was, perhaps, not sorry to have in France a place of refuge from the Court. The Duc d'Orléans, on his side, always inclined to conciliate matters rather than embitter them, wished to harmonize the affair, and so acted, conjointly with the Prince de Condé, that the minister was forced to send a secret order to Maréchal Du Plessis to make peace with the rebels, provided they wished it. He sent him sufficient means to keep up a languishing warfare, but not enough to end it by force. So that the Bordeaux people, knowing themselves sustained by two such powerful princes, and weakly attacked by the king, went from worse to worse, and it will be long before we see the end of this little war.

At the time of the last quarrel between the Prince de Condé and the minister, the prince shared the sentiments of the Fronde as to the long-desired ruin of Cardinal Mazarin, and Madame de Longueville had worked for the union of the prince with the Duc de Beaufort and her friends. But

she had not been able to induce the latter to enter wholly into the interests of the Prince de Condé. They were firm in the resolution to unite with him only in the matter of the cardinal's ruin. This resistance had obliged the prince to be reconciled with the Court rather than enter a cabal the apparent projects of which would have served only for the aggrandizement of the Duc de Beaufort, the coadjutor, and Châteauneuf. Still, the prince, who despised the cardinal, though he was sometimes led to prefer his side to that of the others, negotiated with him more as an enemy than as a friend. He opposed the elevation of his family and made it his glory to maltreat him. Thus the present peace served only to precipitate him into the misfortune the minister was forced to bring down upon him, and to make the *frondeurs*, who could not endure the uncertain and doubtful position in which they were, exert every effort to get out of it.

About this time the Marquis de La Boulaye, a great *frondeur* and friend of the leaders of the Fronde cabal, in order to excite the burghers, rushed through the streets of Paris, pistol in hand, crying out to the populace, "To arms! Mazarin betrays us!" In this state he reached the Palais de Justice, where he shouted louder than ever and gathered a crowd of rascals to shout with him; but no decent man rose at his voice, and none allowed themselves to be duped by such manifest trickery; so that this nobleman, unworthy of that title, though valiant and capable, was compelled to hide himself in the house of the coadjutor, his good friend, with all the shame that follows a bad action based on a disgraceful purpose.

They came to inform the queen of this tumult, and the Palais-Royal was immediately full of the most important persons of the Court, the Duc d'Orléans and the Prince de

Condé first of all. It was Saturday, and the queen, according to her usual custom, wished to go to Notre-Dame, but they doubted if she ought to make the trip. The unshakable firmness of her soul made her determine for herself that she ought to do so; she allowed no one to accompany her but the Prince de Condé, and this he did with a good grace. As for the Duc d'Orléans, he was about to go to Limours, and finding that all things were quiet, he started on his journey.

At the queen's dinner that day, the Duc de Bouillon-La-Marck, father-in-law of the Marquis de La Boulaye, came to see her to say that his son-in-law, hearing that persons were trying to do him bad service with her Majesty, had asked him to come and assure her that they accused him wrongfully of attempting to stir the people to sedition; that he had never had that thought and was not capable of having it. He said it was quite true that having met persons who attempted to assassinate him, he had shouted for help solely in self-defence, and with no intention of failing in the respect he owed to her. The queen answered coldly in these very words, which I took pains to remember: "I have heard that a pistol was fired at a counsellor of the Châtelet, but not that your son-in-law was attacked; on the contrary, I am assured that he ran through the streets pistol in hand, to excite the populace, and shouted in the Palais itself, 'To arms!' I hope that what you say in his defence may be true. Nevertheless, I shall inquire to know if it is so." La Boulaye having succeeded so ill in his design, the coadjutor and he thought it wise to make this bad excuse, which showed, at least, that he had not the boldness to acknowledge his scheme.

After this poor comedy, the consequences of which they feared, the *frondeurs* sought other means, which succeeded

better. The times were favourable for criminals. This one at any rate went unpunished, and the motive of his crime was hidden by his silence and that of his friends. Perhaps they had hoped to raise a revolt in which the minister's life, or that of some one else, could be attacked. As for me I have never known what were the motives for this affair, though I have often asked those who apparently could not be ignorant of them. The whole intrigue was covered by a thick veil, and no one seemed to know the particulars. Some of this cabal, if shame does not prevent them, may leave this secret to posterity.¹

La Boulaye's shouts having had no effect, the *frondeurs* apparently judged it wise to efface the memory of the affair of the morning by another event of more importance. That same day persons attached to the Prince de Condé told me, as if prophetically, that the *frondeurs* were intending to do him harm; and that night, after the council, the prince having gone to the house of Prud'homme, the bath-man, one of his equerries went to find him and warn him from President Perrault, his intendant, that a merchant had come to tell the latter there was a plot to assassinate the prince; and the equerry told him, in support of this warning, that in passing through the Place Dauphine in one of his carriages, the scoundrels assembled there had fired five or six shots into the vehicle; luckily without wounding him.

This report being made to the prince, the Comte de Gramont, attached to his service, sent the prince's carriage bearing his liveries across the Pont-Neuf to see what would happen. The result was what was expected. The carriage was fired into, but as no one was there the assassins, or those who intended to be so, gained nothing. The carriage

¹ Madame de Motteville was not mistaken, as will be seen in the Memoirs of Guy-Joly and Cardinal de Retz. — FR. ED.

of the Duc de Duras, which came after the other, in which there were servants only, was treated in the same way and one of the servants killed. Some of the prince's people told me that forty or fifty men on horseback were present, and the same number had been seen in the morning near La Boulaye's house in which the Duc de Beaufort was living.

The next day the whole Court was in trouble over this event. The queen sent for the king's lawyers, and ordered them to make inquiry into the affair, showing much warmth for the interests of the Prince de Condé. She sent also for the provost of the merchants, the gentlemen of the city, and all the colonels of quarters, and praised them for not having listened to the malignant voices of those whose object was to embark them in a new sedition, and she exhorted them to continue to do right. As a reward she promised that the king would in future have entire confidence in their fidelity.

Things were now so tangled that it was impossible to discern who were friends and who were enemies. The Palais-Royal was filled with an excited crowd, all anxious to see what would come of this confusion. The queen, in the midst of the trouble, seemed to me more satisfied than usual. She said to her familiar attendants that she consoled herself by thinking that she was not mixed in these quarrels. And one day, saying the same thing to me, she added that perhaps she might profit by them, for she was so placed that necessarily one side or the other would have need of her.

Things having come to this pass, the coadjutor went himself to see the Prince de Condé, intending, as I have heard, to form a new alliance with him, and see if from all these evils he could not pluck something to his own advantage and against the public peace. The angry prince rebuffed him and would not see him; but the coadjutor, not accepting

this refusal, asked to see La Moussaye or Toulangeon. On which the prince ordered them to send word they were not there; this they told me themselves.

Christmas did not pacify these troubles. The king on that holy day made his first communion at Saint Eustache, his parish church, with many signs of a great inclination to piety, and the next day a piece of news arrived which surprised the queen, angered the minister, and did a lasting harm to the affairs of the Prince de Condé, who in this and all ways now hurried to misfortune; I mean the marriage of the Duc de Richelieu with Madame de Pons.

Madame de Pons was the daughter of Madame du Vigean, who had always been dearly loved by the Duchesse d'Aiguillon. This affection had brought great benefits to her family in the days of Cardinal Richelieu, through the distinction given by the friendship of a person who, as the niece of so powerful a minister, could not fail to be of service to it. Madame de Pons was the widow of a man of birth and small means. The Duchesse d'Aiguillon, from the tenderness she felt to her mother, Madame du Vigean, had often told her not to feel uneasy at her lack of means, for she promised her a share in her property. Madame de Pons, less concerned about the gratitude she owed the Duchesse d'Aiguillon than about her own interests, wanted a more certain wealth, and took much pains to please the Duc de Richelieu, nephew of the Duchesse d'Aiguillon. In this she succeeded easily; for he was young, and she was amiable and sufficiently well-made to be loved with passion. Madame d'Aiguillon had begged her to make a worthy man of him; and he, being almost young enough to be her son, received her instructions submissively. Without beauty, she had many good qualities; she was kind, gentle, liking to oblige, and her reputation was spotless. She was one of the clever-

est women in the sort of gallantry which is more affected than real; she knew how to triumph adroitly over a fresh heart, which, lacking boldness, dares not undertake more serious conquests. This lady, by nature liberal of sweetness, and prompted now by her own desires, neglected nothing that could make her beloved by the young duke. As for him, wanting discernment as to what he should believe and do, the pleasure of imagining himself truly loved had great charms for him.

The Duchesse d'Aiguillon had been chosen by her uncle, the late Cardinal Richelieu, to be the guardian of his great-nephews, thinking that he could find no safer way to preserve his name than to leave those that bore it under the guidance of their aunt. He judged that her virtue, intelligence, and courage would protect them against the effects of envy and hatred, which are usually the sorry consequences of the great fortunes of favourites. This illustrious aunt, unlucky in all her projects, noticing on one occasion that her nephew was paying little attentions to Madame de Pons, said to the latter that she wished he were an honest man enough to be in love with her; and Madame de Pons, whose plans were all laid, answered, laughing, that she warned her that if he spoke of love and wanted to marry her she should never have the strength to refuse.

This speech was taken by the Duchesse d'Aiguillon as a jest, which only diverted her. But Madame de Pons, who was serious in the matter, thought by this warning to acquit herself of all she owed to the duchess. Believing that she was justified in preferring herself to others, she employed, to bring about her marriage, a man attached to the service of the Duc de Richelieu, whom she won over to her interests. She used, as her great lever, the friendship which Madame de Longueville felt for her; and through that princess she

induced the Prince de Condé to protect her marriage as a thing that might prove very advantageous to him. Madame de Pons wanted a husband, and Madame de Longueville wanted her friend to have the government of Havre-de-Grâce [belonging to the Duc de Richelieu] a place which would enable the Duc de Longueville to be absolute master of Normandy. Her object and that of the Prince de Condé in protecting Madame de Pons in this marriage was that she would thus be wholly bound to them and to their fortunes.

Desmarets, the man who was advising the Duc de Richelieu in favour of Madame de Pons, gave him fine illusions in relation to this marriage. The Duchesse d'Aiguillon thwarted their secret plans by proposing to marry her nephew to Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, who was beautiful, illustrious in birth, and would come into large property, and with whom the Duc de Richelieu, in spite of his liking for Madame de Pons, appeared to be slightly in love. But his faithful friend Desmarets so worked his illusions, aided by honest, though carefully managed flattery, that he persuaded the Duc de Richelieu he would do better to marry this ugly Helen who was destined to make a noise in the world, rather than the beautiful person his aunt had chosen for him. He assured him that having the Prince de Condé on his side the Duchesse d'Aiguillon would not disapprove of his choice or cause him any uneasiness about it.

All these things together made this marriage, which was fatal to the Prince de Condé, painful to the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, not happy for the married pair, and in no way useful to Madame de Longueville, who, in course of time, did not obtain in Havre the assistance she expected; in fact it came near causing as many evils to Frenchmen as the marriage of Paris to the beautiful Greek princess brought upon the Trojans. It was celebrated in the country, in presence

of the Prince de Condé, who wished to be there, and who acted in all respects as fathers and mothers are accustomed to do on such occasions. The queen was much surprised when she heard that the marriage had been performed in that way [December 26, 1649]. She saw at once the purpose of the Prince de Condé in making it his affair; and this event went far, together with the cardinal's influence, in destroying the prince entirely in her mind. His ruin was now determined upon, as that of a prince who showed continual signs of a corrupted spirit. Nevertheless, the queen continued to treat him pleasantly, and the minister also.

The Duchesse d'Aiguillon, hearing the news, was in despair. Having courage and honour, and supporting this misfortune by her strength of mind, she immediately despatched a courier to Havre (which she ruled under orders of the late Cardinal Richelieu until her nephew's majority), to prevent his reception there. The Prince de Condé had made him start the day after his wedding, telling him that he must make himself master of the place in every way. The queen, on her side, sent De Bar to seize the town and so prevent the Prince de Condé from giving the Duc de Longueville, his brother-in-law, complete possession of Normandy.

When the Prince de Condé returned from the marriage he entered the queen's presence with the same face as usual; and though he knew she disapproved of his act, and also that De Bar had started to thwart his object, he did not refrain from telling her about the wedding, and relating various anecdotes with much gaiety and assumption. The queen told him that the Duchesse d'Aiguillon expected to break the marriage, because her nephew was not of age. To which he replied arrogantly that an act of that nature, done in his presence, could not be broken. This prince who had com-

plained that the queen rebuked Jarzé without consulting him, now did not think it just that she should regard as a rebellious act his having taken part in marrying a duke and peer of France without the king's consent, and with designs that were visibly dangerous. However, it was necessary at this moment to feign, and the queen did it so well that the prince was completely deceived.

Two days later the news arrived that the Duc de Richelieu had been received in Havre; that De Bar had seen him, and had persuaded him that he must, for his own sake, keep Havre for the king, and detach himself from the Prince de Condé. The young duke sent a gentleman to the queen and also wrote to her himself, to make her excuses for his action. The queen answered that it was true she had blamed him, and she said to this gentleman that his master bore a name which owed all its grandeur to the late king, his master, and consequently he did wrong in failing in the respect he owed to him. But that if, in future, he repaired his fault by great fidelity it was not impossible to obtain pardon.

VII.

1650.

WHILE these particular actors were preparing a drama the great events of which were to surprise and astonish all Europe, parliament employed itself in judging the quarrel [relating to the attempted assassination] between the Prince de Condé, the coadjutor, and the Duc de Beaufort. It was determined, after due deliberation, that the chief-president should be the judge of the affair. The followers of the Prince de Condé had appealed to the whole parliament with extraordinary heat, sparing neither promises nor threats in order to obtain votes; which was not impossible, for, in spite of the power of the *frondeurs*, the chief-president being the prince's friend, he was sure of many voices in the Assembly.

The next day it was a question of deliberating on the request presented by the Duc de Beaufort and the coadjutor; who asked to be received to challenge the Prince de Condé as not able to be a judge in his own cause. But the cabal suddenly requested leave to withdraw their petition, and consented to judgment, saying that they knew themselves innocent, and consequently feared nothing. They only asked to be judged and vindicated at once.

This seemed a fine action, bold and full of confidence in the justice of their cause, and their friends applauded it immensely. The courtiers did not praise it before the queen, believing it would displease her. For, though they judged she had no reason to love the prince, they felt sure that she hated the *frondeurs* more. She had seemed to support the

prince's interests warmly, and to hear with joy whatever favoured him. The prince's followers said this also, and with all the more zeal because they had so great an interest in maintaining the rights of his case. But no one knew the real truth of this action; all these things were only illusions with which the Prince de Condé, the courtiers, and the people were being amused.

The *frondeurs*, knowing what good reason the cardinal had to hate the Prince de Condé, were secretly seeking surer ways than that of parliament to defend themselves against him. They rightly thought that the ill-will which the minister bore them would yield in his heart to his interests, and that in the position in which he now was the greatest luck that could happen to him would be the overthrow of the Prince de Condé without trouble to the State. These reasons led the cabal, or rather those who were its soul and mind, in order to save themselves and destroy the Prince de Condé, to propose to the cardinal to arrest him; telling him that by putting themselves on his side they could, through their alliances and friends in parliament, prevent the prince prisoner from receiving help, and that no one would speak in his favour.

This proposition was accepted as the salvation of both sides, and few persons knew of it. Madame de Chevreuse and Laigues negotiated the great affair with the cardinal. The queen informed the Duc d'Orléans and made him approve of the plan. But she did this on condition that he would say nothing of it to the Abbé de La Rivière, on account of the attachment the latter appeared to feel to the Prince de Condé, and the intimacy he had had with Madame de Pons, now Duchesse de Richelieu. Jealousy had always been strong between the two princes, and it was now greatly increased in the soul of the Duc d'Orléans by the excessive

authority which the Prince de Condé was assuming in the State. The Duchesse de Chevreuse and the Duchesse de Montbazon, the two principal personages of the Fronde who had power over his mind, did not lack subjects through which to increase his aversion to these continued encroachments; and they succeeded so well that the Prince de Condé began to perceive that the Duc d'Orléans was abandoning him and only met him with reluctance. He was not mistaken; the Duc d'Orléans, having taken a liking to the counsels of the *frondeurs*, became impatient to profit by the downfall of the prince. It seemed to him that the Court now gave him a fine opportunity to be master of France; that is to say, to enjoy by himself alone the favour and gifts of the Regent.

On the other hand, the queen and cardinal, weary of the domineering ways of the Prince de Condé, regarded him as a usurper of the royal authority and as a prince to be feared for his arrogance and his ambition. The affair of Jarzé, of the Pont-de-l'Arche, of the marriage of the Duc de Richelieu, and the prince's aversion to the marriage of the cardinal's niece, had so filled the cup of their displeasure that the queen and cardinal could no longer endure the formidable grandeur which, according to appearances, might soon become dangerous to the State. At any rate, it was of ill omen to the minister personally; and for this reason Cardinal Mazarin believed that what he owed to the king, as well as what he owed to himself, obliged him to put limits to the power of the prince who now seemed to recognize none.

The *frondeurs*, to succeed the better in their designs, caused the Abbé de La Rivière to be suspected by the queen, the minister, and his master, on matters for which he himself had given ample ground; and they neglected nothing that could destroy him, not allowing in his favour the proofs

he had given of loving his duty, and of never having gone wrong in any direction that was contrary to the good of the State. This favourite, too sure of the one thing in the world that is most uncertain, acted as though it were impossible for him to lose the good graces of his master, and risked displeasing him by forming intimacies which he might think suspicious. His own interests blinded him; and this conduct caused the Duc d'Orléans to conceal from him the bold designs of those who hated him, and who gave to all his actions a bad interpretation.

This semi-minister now perceived an increasing coldness in the soul of the Duc d'Orléans for the Prince de Condé; but not seeing the extent of the evil, its causes or effects, far from following the line of his master's sentiments, he opposed them. He did this as much to oblige the prince as to destroy the power of the *frondeur* cabal, by which he was hated. He told his friends, to justify his apparent opposition to the sentiments of his master, that he was incapable of departing from his duty, but would never allow a division to come between the two princes, because the Court was not in a condition to strike a great blow that would bring down the power of the Prince de Condé; he said he did not fear that that of the Duc d'Orléans would be annihilated under the glory of the other, for the latter was ill-sustained by the royal authority, which seemed without strength or vigour.

But the truth is he was hoping week by week for the cardinal's hat. His objects went no farther than to temporize and gain time in which to satisfy that ambition; and as men always make to themselves excuses for present faults, repairing them by virtuous intentions for the future, he imagined that after his elevation, which would put him in a position of stability, he could work powerfully for the grandeur of the Duc d'Orléans, the happiness of the State,

and the reduction of the Prince de Condé. He followed his passionate desire, and acted as men are accustomed to act who, thinking that they secure themselves, often work for their own destruction. Matters that were now happening, and which were carefully concealed from him, were about to annihilate his ambition and put an end to his influence and favour. Happy would he have been if, through a wise disillusion as to those things, he had learned to know their real value.

To fully comprehend the change we are now to see, we must remember the siege of Paris and the war fomented by the coadjutor and the Duc de Beaufort, and recall the fact that at that time the Prince de Condé had been the minister's support, the one who alone had never wavered in supporting him, and who on that occasion had walked straightforward in maintaining his tottering fortunes and the royal authority. We must also remember that, after winning four battles against the foreign enemy, he had acquired the ill-will of the public and that of his own family by making himself the defender of this royal quarrel. We must not forget that Madame de Chevreuse, being in Flanders, had held communication with the *frondeurs*; that Laigues had negotiated with Spain through her; that the Duc de Beaufort had been put in prison partly at the instigation of the late Prince de Condé; that Madame de Montbazon had been exiled for her enmity to the Princesse de Condé, who, mother of a son so powerful as the then Duc d'Enghien, had proudly braved her enemies, and neglected nothing that could satisfy her vengeance.

The Duchesse d'Aiguillon, who took part in the present council, was also in a position which ought to be remarked. At the beginning of the regency she had saved her right to Havre with difficulty; and it was great good-fortune for her

to have escaped the effects of the dislike that the queen would naturally bear against her. The late Prince de Condé and his son had greatly tormented her by instituting suits against the inheritance of the young Duc de Brézé, brother of the Duchesse d'Enghien. But now, at last, her turn had come, and as the enemy of the Prince de Condé she was about to take part in his imprisonment, for she cleverly found means to enter into this intrigue through the medium of the Duc d'Orléans. And this is how she did it :—

The Duc d'Orléans had tenderly loved Soyon, maid-of-honour of Madame. This young woman, moved by devotion or some inward grief, had flung herself into the great convent of the Carmelites, intending to become a nun. Monsieur, not being able to endure her absence, employed the royal authority, that of parliament, and his own, also the entreaties of Soyon's friends, to make her leave the convent. The person from whom he received most help was the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, all-powerful over Père Léon, Soyon's confessor, a Carmelite monk, who had at least as much ambition as piety. She applied her influence in that direction with such force that the conscience of the girl was reassured, and she was induced to return to Court with the hope of soon becoming lady-in-waiting to Madame, in order to remain at Court without being married. It must be admitted that she lived in the world with virtue and piety, and showed so clearly that she despised it that we must respect her return rather than condemn it.

Madame d'Aiguillon, to obtain some benefit from this negotiation, persuaded the Duc d'Orléans that the Abbé de La Rivière, jealous of the favour of Mademoiselle de Soyon, had, by his intrigues, urged her to become a nun. She had, as I have heard say, no real grounds for this. But as she wanted the ruin of the Prince de Condé, and believed the abbé to be bound to his interests and a friend to the new



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Duchesse de Richelieu, whom she had reason to hate, she thought it necessary to make him lose the good graces of his master. It is to be presumed that she knew things on this subject of which I am ignorant, and that she could without scruple accuse him of this jealousy, which under certain circumstances would naturally be in his soul. As this lady, by knowledge or by suspicion, was led to believe that the favourite was susceptible of that passion, so the Duc d'Orléans was as easily convinced of it; and, without much examining whether what was told him was true or false, he believed it because of other doubts he was beginning to have about him. At any rate, he imagined that the Abbé de La Rivière wished that Mademoiselle de Soyon should stay at the Carmelites; and that thought, received into a mind already ill-disposed, was able to ruin the abbé in his eyes.

It was through this that the *frondeurs*, who hated the Abbé de La Rivière, allied themselves with the Duchesse d'Aiguillon; and this was the way by which she entered into the great negotiation. It was confided to her by the *frondeurs* and by the minister, who were both resolved to destroy La Rivière. She held the keys of the citadel of Havre, which, through De Bar's fidelity, was preserved to her, in spite of her nephew the Duc de Richelieu, and in spite of the manœuvres of the Prince de Condé; so that the minister, finding her suitable in many ways, partly for the security he could feel in her hatreds, and partly from the opinion he had of her capacity, made no difficulty in speaking to her of the grand project. It was therefore Madame de Chevreuse, Madame d'Aiguillon, the coadjutor,¹

¹ In the Memoirs of Cardinal de Retz we read how Madame de Chevreuse entered into negotiations with Mazarin and promised him the concurrence of the coadjutor himself against the Prince de Condé.—FR. ED.

the Marquis de Noirmoutiers, and Laigues who negotiated the affair with the queen, the Duc d'Orléans, and the minister. The Duc de Beaufort knew nothing about it, because the *frondeur* cabal believed he would tell it to Madame de Montbazon; and the whole troop did not esteem that lady enough to let her be mistress of their fate.

This scheme of arresting the Prince de Condé pleased the minister, not only by delivering him from a prince of the blood who despised him, but still more because he believed he should now become master of France. He saw one of the cabals destroyed by the ruin of its leader. The other, which seemed to be giving itself up to him, no longer caused him any fear; and by the dismissal of the Abbé de La Rivière he hoped in future to have the same influence over the Duc d'Orléans as he had over the queen; and thus his dominion over all would be complete and secure.

The *frondeurs* had other thoughts. They apparently entered into the minister's interests, but they imagined that when they no longer had the formidable prince as their enemy, the cardinal, weak and hated, would not dare to refuse them anything and would be wholly submissive to their purposes; that the Duc d'Orléans, deprived of La Rivière, would let himself be governed by their friend, the coadjutor, for whom he showed both esteem and inclination; that the duke, being led by them, would make himself master of the Court; and that through him their power over all would be established in a firm and lasting manner. Madame de Chevreuse saw herself then in a position to revive her old desire, conceived at the beginning of the regency, of governing the queen. And her hope was the better founded because she and her cabal expected in future to possess the queen by force, and, consequently, with more security.

The Court, inwardly in this state, took the resolution to execute its intentions promptly, and to arrest the Prince de Condé, also the Prince de Conti and the Duc de Longueville, in order that the last two should not attempt by a civil war to succour the first. I have since heard the queen say, speaking of the imprisonment of the prince, that being one day in council with the Duc d'Orléans and her minister, she and they exclaimed together what a good thing it would be to arrest the prince; that after thinking it well over the thing seemed to them both necessary and feasible; and that later, through time and through events, it appeared to be so easy that they finally executed it without any difficulty.

When the queen spoke of it for the second time to the Duc d'Orléans, she again conjured him not to confide the secret to the Abbé de La Rivière. This entreaty was more especially founded on the fact that in the last reconciliation of the Prince de Condé with the minister, which the Abbé de La Rivière had negotiated, the prince had made him give his word that the Duc d'Orléans should not consent to his imprisonment, in case such a thing was ever thought of, without first warning him; and the prince also desired that the duke should in his presence, assure him of the same thing. He believed that the queen would never have that design unless the Duc d'Orléans took part in it, and that, being secured by the pledge of the duke and his favourite, he had nothing to fear.

The Abbé de La Rivière, who was unwilling to give his word in a matter of such consequence without the participation of the Court, took the advice of the queen and her minister before he pledged himself to the prince; to whom, however, he finally gave the assurance in presence of his master. The queen and cardinal gave it very willingly in order to get peace; for at that time they had no thought of

using such severe remedies. But time having persuaded them such action was useful to the State, the Abbé de La Rivière, who in this matter was guilty of nothing but too much readiness to serve the Prince de Condé, was the victim offered up by all the actors concerned in this great design.

The distrust the queen felt for him was the cause of his ruin; a curtain was drawn before the eyes of the Duc d'Orléans on which were depicted crimes in the man he had loved and whom he now felt obliged to punish. It is to be believed, however, that the favourite might have agreed to the present design, which would have delivered him from his eternal dread of the Prince de Conti, who could at any time, according to his caprice, deprive him of his nomination for the cardinal's hat. But the abbé's innocence was useless to him because of his apparent faults.

The prince whose liberty was now threatened seemed uneasy. He felt that his interests were not being supported in parliament. He fulminated against the *frondeurs*, and openly declared that if he did not get justice done him he would do it for himself, and that as strongly as possible. He complained that the Duc d'Orléans was deserting him, and told his friends that he pretended to be ill when he begged him to go to parliament. The Abbé de La Rivière, with a futile desire for peace, endeavoured to maintain it between the two princes as the most important affair of the State. The Prince de Condé, perceiving the influence of his enemies, showed the greatest resentment; and one of his servants, a person of rank, told me that his vexation kept him from sleeping, and that he often walked his chamber at night and spent many hours in writing and consulting about his affairs. But while he threatened his enemies, entreated his friends, and complained of small evils, the greatest of misfortunes was about to fall upon his head, to

show him that men, no matter what their position is, cannot always be wholly fortunate. Though his ill-fortune was still surrounded by glory, and he was followed into his very prison with dazzling fame, it may nevertheless be said that with liberty he lost a grandeur and power which up to that time had brought him all the felicity that could be desired in the life of a great prince. It usually pleases God in the days of our prosperity to show us the fragility of earthly good.

At last measures were taken to execute that which was destined to change so many things. The Duc de Longueville was ill at Chaillot; he had shown some aversion to visiting the king, on account of certain warnings he had lately received. But as he had promised to be present at the council, for an affair to be brought up about the Duc de Beauvron, the queen determined to take this occasion to execute her design. She feigned illness, and this pretended indisposition gave her a pretext to close her doors and so avoid any uproar. The council brought a great crowd of people to the Palais-Royal; but the action now to be performed required security and consequently solitude. For this reason the queen ordered the captain of her guards to admit no one except those who belonged to the council. The Duc d'Orléans did not come, to avoid being an ocular witness to the disaster of the prince who was living in security on his promised word.

The queen lay down on her bed, declaring that her head ached; and I heard her say afterwards that she needed to lie there to hide the trouble of her soul, which was great as the hour for the council approached. The Princesse de Condé, who had the privilege of seeing her even at times when she received no one, came to visit her this very day; which greatly increased the queen's emotion; for she felt

kindly to the princess, knowing that she had no share in the conduct of her son. She recalled on this occasion, as she did me the honour to tell me, with great regret and compassion, how the Princesse de Condé had always received her caresses with a gratitude that amounted almost to idolatry ; and that she little deserved being deprived by her of happiness for the rest of her life.

This unfortunate mother, very ignorant of her coming sorrow, sat down by the queen's pillow, and asked her many questions about her illness, all of which proceeded from a real uneasiness, for the queen was always so healthy that it was difficult not to be surprised when she complained of not feeling well. But all these words were only fresh causes of pain to her who had more health than peace of mind, and had as much wish to do the princess good as she now had the necessity of doing her evil.

On the morning of that day the Prince de Condé had gone to see the cardinal, whom he found conversing with Priolo, a servant of the Duc de Longueville, to whom the cardinal was saying all sorts of pleasant things for his master, begging him to come after midday to the council. The Prince de Condé, entering the minister's room, begged him to continue his conversation. Then, going up to the fire, he found de Lyonne, the cardinal's secretary, who was writing at a little table certain orders that were necessary for the execution of the great affair of the day. De Lyonne hid them carefully under the cloth, putting on the best face possible.

This visit over, the prince went to dine with his mother. He had had some warning or presentiment of his danger. So that after dinner, having drawn aside her two sons, she begged the prince to take care of himself, for assuredly the court was not favourable to him. The prince answered that

the queen had lately assured him again of her friendship, and that the cardinal was on very good terms with him ; but that doubtless the mischief came from La Rivière, who betrayed him, and made his master lean to the *frondeurs*. Then he told the Prince de Conti, his brother, that he should like that very day, in his presence, to rebuke the abbé as he deserved. The Prince de Marsillac, whose mind was able and penetrating, had often judged that affairs were going ill for their side, and so thinking, had frequently advised that all three should never be at the council together. But it was ordered of God that they should not heed his advice. The Prince de Condé was the first to go to the queen, the two others followed soon after. He found his mother there, as I have said, and he remained a short time by the queen's bedside in simple conversation.

But as he had many affairs on hand and many vexations on his mind, he quitted the queen after a few commonplace remarks, leaving his mother with her. That was the last time he ever saw his mother ; it was the moment that parted them forever. The prince passed into the little cabinet out of which he entered another, a species of passage to a gallery where the council was usually held. From this little passage was another leading to the cardinal's apartment, and the prince was about to take it when he met him on his way to the queen. They stopped at that place, and the prince talked to the minister a long time about the various matters that touched him keenly. He showed that he felt deeply the protection which parliament was giving to his enemies, and the coolness towards him which he noticed in the mind of the Duc d'Orléans. After this he complained of the Abbé de La Rivière, whom he suspected of promoting the cause of the Fronde with his master. He told the cardinal he would greatly like to speak to the abbé in his presence ; and know-

ng that he was with the Maréchal de Villeroy, the king's tutor, who was ill, they sent for him.

The Abbé de La Rivière, hearing that he was wanted by these personages, hastened to go to them. But in attempting to enter the queen's apartments he found such difficulties at the door of the guardroom that he feared this severity was aimed at himself. For though he knew nothing actually, he saw that things were embroiled, and felt he was not on as good terms with his master as usual. Comminges, lieutenant of the queen's guards, who had received orders conjointly with Guitaut, his uncle, for the arrest of the princes, seeing that his men would not let the gentlemen who attended the abbé pass, feared that their scrupulous obedience might cause some suspicions. He therefore made him excuses, and gave orders that he should be allowed to enter, both he and his attendants. This civility reassured the abbé, and as soon as he entered, the prince and cardinal shut themselves up with him.

Then the Prince de Condé began vehemently to complain of him; told him that he betrayed him with his master; that he saw himself abandoned, and laid the whole blame of it upon him. He told him he ought to remember all the promises that the Duc d'Orléans and he, in his private capacity, had made to him; that nevertheless they now gave more protection to his enemies than to him; but he would do justice for himself, and should know how to avenge himself on those who thus failed him. In speaking of these things he shouted so loud that the queen, attentive to all that was happening, had some slight fear at the noise, imagining that the prince might be complaining of a greater evil.

While these three persons were conversing with such heat the Comte de Servien arrived; he was in the secret of the great affair because the cardinal trusted him; but when

he tried to enter the gallery they sent him away as an intruder, and continued their talk till the arrival of the Duc de Longueville. The prince then begged the cardinal and the abbé to cease speaking of these affairs before his brother-in-law. The conversation being thus interrupted they talked for a few moments of common things, and soon after the Prince de Conti arrived. The minister, seeing the three personages in a position to receive the sovereign's decree, sent word to the queen in their presence that all was ready, and that she could come to the council; which meant that she could now give the final command. The queen at once bade adieu to the Princesse de Condé, saying that she was going to the council; and this was the last time she ever saw her. The princess, in spite of her suspicions, went away without any thought of the immediate evil that was to happen to her, and the queen sent word to the princes who awaited her that they could pass into the gallery, where she would join them.

The Prince de Condé went first, the Prince de Conti, his brother, next, and then the Duc de Longueville and the rest of the ministers. The Prince de Condé, while awaiting the queen, amused himself by talking to Comte d'Avaux on financial matters, and argued with him on some matter that concerned the interests of one of his friends. The cardinal, who remained behind in the little passage, seeing the princes all in the gallery, instead of following them, took the Abbé de La Rivière by the hand and said to him in a low voice: "Let us return to my room; I have something of importance to tell you." They went away together,—the first, entirely absorbed in his plot; the second, as he himself told me, much troubled at not knowing what to think of this extraordinary withdrawal, which seemed to him to indicate some serious event.

The queen, on her side, having risen from her bed, where she had been lying fully dressed, gave the necessary orders to Guitaut, captain of her guard. She then took the king, to whom up to this moment she had said nothing of this determination, and shut herself up with him in her oratory. As she was not led to this action by any spirit of vengeance she made the young monarch kneel down, told him what was being done at that instant, and ordered him to pray to God with her for the success of the undertaking, the end of which she awaited with much emotion and a beating heart.

Instead of the queen, for whom they waited to open the council, Guitaut entered the gallery. The prince, who was conversing, as I have said (for all these things happened together), seeing Guitaut come towards him, thought he had some favour to ask of him. He went to meet him with that idea, and asked him what he desired. Guitaut replied in a low voice: "Monsieur, it is you I want; I have an order to arrest you — you, the Prince de Conti, your brother, and Monsieur de Longueville." The prince answered brusquely: "I, Monsieur Guitaut — you arrest me!" Then, after reflecting a moment, "In God's name," he said, "go to the queen and tell her I entreat her to let me speak to her." Guitaut told him it would doubtless be of no use, but that he would do it to satisfy him.

As the prince had stepped aside from the others to speak to Guitaut, and as Guitaut had spoken in a low tone, no one present had heard the decree against the liberty of the three personages. So that, when Guitaut left him to go to the queen as he desired, the prince returned to the others with a rather agitated face and said to all of them, "Messieurs, the queen has had me arrested;" then, turning to the Prince de Conti and the Duc de Longueville, he added, "And you too, my brother; and you, Monsieur de Longueville." Then

he addressed the whole company and said, "I own that this astonishes me, who have always served the king so well, and who thought myself so secure of the cardinal's good-will." After which, turning to the chancellor, he asked him to go to the queen and beg her from him to allow him to speak to her, and he begged the Comte de Servien to go to the cardinal and request the same thing.

The chancellor went to the queen but did not return; and Servien, who went to the cardinal, also did not come back. But Guitaut returned and told the prince that the queen could not see him, and that he had orders to execute her will. The Prince de Condé then said to him in a perfectly tranquil tone of voice: "Very well, I am willing, we will obey; but where are you going to take us? I hope it will be to some warm place." Guitaut replied that he had orders to take them to Vincennes. The prince then said, "Very well, let us go." At the same time he advanced towards the end of the gallery, where there is a door leading to the cardinal's apartments, thinking no doubt to go out that way. But as he was about to open it, Guitaut said to him: "Monsieur, you cannot go out by that door, for Comminges is there with a dozen guards." The prince then turned to the company, without any sign of distress, his face serene and tranquil, and bowed to all, bidding them adieu, and begging them to remember him and to testify on all occasions, like honourable men as they were, that he had been a good servant to the king, having always lived as such, and that he was their servitor. Then, turning to the Comte de Brienne, secretary of State, he embraced him and said, "As for you, you are my relative."

During this time, Guitaut had called in Comminges, his nephew, and the dozen guards who were stationed outside the door of the gallery awaiting orders. He made them pass

on to open a little door to the garden, in order to descend by a small private staircase by which the prisoners were to go. The prince, seeing that he was obliged to follow that escort, said to Comminges before he set foot on the stairs: "Comminges, you are a man of honour and a gentleman; have I nothing to fear?" Then he hastily enumerated the things he had done for him, and the kindness he had shown to little Guitaut his cousin; and said all he could to make him feel that he owed him some gratitude.

It was Comminges himself who related to me, a few days later, all these particulars, expressing astonishment at the prince's presence of mind and the quickness with which he recalled to him the kindness he had shown him on many occasions. Comminges, seeing from what the prince was saying that he feared some design against his life, answered that he was a man of honour and a gentleman, and that the prince might rely on his word that he had nothing to fear from him, and he had no orders except that of taking him to Vincennes. On these assurances the prince followed him without showing any uneasiness and without saying a single word against his enemies.

The Prince de Conti did not speak at all. He remained seated on a little couch which was in the gallery, without showing either fear or grief; and he allowed himself to be led away without making any resistance. The Duc de Longueville, who had hurt his leg and did not like using it on this occasion, walked slowly and unwillingly. Guitaut was obliged to order two guards to assist him in walking. And as in advanced age minds have less vigour, and ills endured are no doubt more depressing, Guitaut told me on the same day that he found the duke overcome with sadness and saw on his face that he regarded this misfortune as an evil that would lead him to the grave.

The Prince de Condé, walking first, came sooner than the others to the gate of the garden which opens upon the street through which they were to go. He had to wait for the two princes who were following him, before the gate was opened to let him enter the carriage which was waiting to take them to Vincennes. During this interval the prince asked Guitaut if he knew the reason of this affair, and told him he was amazed that he should have accepted the commission, as he well knew he loved him. Guitaut answered that he entreated him to consider that men attached to their masters and the service of the king were compelled to act when it was a question of obeying them. He expressed to him his regret at being constrained by his duty to do what he was then doing. The prince seemed satisfied with these sentiments. The two other prisoners arrived while they were talking together. Guitaut then opened the garden gate, and the carriage was found all ready to receive them, with Comminges and some of the guards. They went out by the Porte de Richelieu so as not to cross all Paris with such prey; which obliged them to make a great *détour* along very bad roads.

Miossens, with a company of the king's gendarmes, was stationed in the horse-market, near the Richelieu Gate. He had received an order from the cardinal to post himself there to defend, against the Duc de Beaufort, certain prisoners whom it was desirable to take; and the cardinal, to prevent him from knowing the truth, gave him to understand that he was to fight against the *frondeur* duke. Miossens accepted the commission like a brave man of high courage, but with some uneasiness, not seeing clearly what he had to do, nor what was expected of him. La Salle, his lieutenant, threw some light on the matter; and in his anger at seeing that the minister had not placed confidence in him, he searched,

so he told me, for Flamarin, a friend of his, intending to send a warning to the Prince de Condé by him. He thought he was not obliged to keep a secret they would not confide to him. But not being able to find his friend, he was compelled to remain inactive, and meantime the prince was arrested. Then, going to the Palais-Royal for full instructions, he learned what the affair really was, about which he had been told so obscurely. The Prince de Condé [as commander-in-chief] had himself signed the order, thinking it was in his own interests, and that the prisoners whom they intended to take were the accomplices of his enemies. But his own eyes showed him who were the prisoners whom Miossens was ordered to conduct.

As the road by which the prisoners were conveyed was crooked and difficult, the carriage was overturned at a bad place. No sooner was it on the ground than the Prince de Condé, whose fine figure, agility, and skill were incomparable, was out and away in the fields. Quicker than a bird escaping from its cage, and taking advantage of the chance, he was already getting away from his guards, when Miossens, seeing this, ran after him and stopped him on the edge of a pit into which he was about to spring. The Prince de Condé then said to him (as Miossens himself told me), "Fear nothing, Miossens, I am not escaping; but see what you could do for me if you chose." On which Miossens answered that he implored him very humbly not to ask of him a thing which as a man of honour he could not do; and he assured him he was grieved to be forced to such fidelity, but that he must obey the king and queen.

We may notice from this answer how differently a man of honour acts when he is trusted from what he does when suspected; for Miossens had intended to warn the prince before he received his actual orders from the king. I do not know

if he told the truth in saying these things; for he would have been almost wholly estimable through his fine qualities if he had had as many Christian virtues as he had moral ones, and if, respecting the truth of the Gospel, he had hated falsehood and vanity in his talk.

The prince being stopped in this way, they all had to wait till the carriage was set up again. When they got into it Comminges commanded the coachman to drive as rapidly as possible. The Prince de Condé, hearing this order, burst out laughing and said: "Don't be afraid, Comminges, no one is coming to rescue me; I assure you I have taken no precautions against this journey." Then he asked him what he thought about the arrest; as for him, he said, he could not guess the reason of it. Comminges, who had wit and had read a good deal, replied that he knew nothing, but he supposed the prince's greatest crime was that of Germanicus who became suspected by the Emperor Tiberius because he was too worthy, too much beloved, and too great. This answer made the prince thoughtful for a moment; then he exclaimed: "By this time Monsieur is rejoicing at having played me this trick, and his traitor of a favourite, too" (meaning the Abbé de La Rivière), "who no doubt plotted the whole business."

On arriving at Vincennes he seemed a little touched, and said to Miossens, who took leave of him at the gate of the prison, that he begged him to assure the queen that he was always her very humble servant. When they reached the chamber they were to occupy, they found no beds to sleep on. They were forced, all three, to play cards to amuse themselves, and they spent the whole night in this way, but, as Comminges told me, they did so gaily and with much composure of mind. The Prince de Condé, joking with his brother and the Duc de Longueville, told many agreeable

anecdotes. Which proves the firmness of his courage and also that although he had seemed excited and had asked many times uselessly to see the queen and the cardinal, yet the vivacity of his mind and the strength of his passions had more to do with those appeals than any weakness. He added to the occupation of cards a lively argument which he had with Comminges about astrology. I have heard Comminges himself say that, having spent eight days with him on this occasion, he never enjoyed such good hours as those he passed in conversing with him; and that if he had not been so moved with compassion and had been capable of the sternness required to guard persons of that importance, he would have liked to remain with him during his whole imprisonment. And when, at the end of a week, he was obliged to leave him, he told me he wept in parting with him, and that the prince in embracing him had tears in his eyes. It is nevertheless certain that neither the prince nor the gentleman was ever accused of being susceptible of great tenderness.

I left the queen in her oratory, refusing to listen to the entreaties of the Prince de Condé. When she knew they had gone down and were safely in the carriage, she remained in the same place and in the same tranquillity till their journey should be fully accomplished. I also left Cardinal Mazarin on his way to his apartment, and with him the Abbé de La Rivière. He told the latter when he reached his room that he had brought him with him instead of entering the council, because the queen had ordered the arrest of the Prince de Condé, the Prince de Conti, and the Duc de Longueville.

The Abbé de La Rivière was at first so astonished by this news that, not being able to believe it, he regarded it as fabulous, and treated it for a while as a jest, swearing it was

impossible it could be so, until both he and the cardinal were laughing with all their might. The latter laughed because the thing was true, the other because he believed it false. At last, on the entrance of the Comte de Servien, who came to tell the cardinal that the Prince de Condé asked to speak to him, and of Miossens, who came for his last orders from the lips of the cardinal himself, the abbé could doubt no longer the truth of this strange story, and addressing Cardinal Mazarin with a great change from his recent gaiety, he said he was astonished that the affair had been concealed from him; that he saw himself ruined; and that he had not deserved from the queen or the minister such treatment. The cardinal justified himself as well as he could, saying that the reason this matter had been withheld from him was on account of the pledge he had given the Prince on behalf of the Duc d'Orléans that he would not allow him to be put in prison without giving him due notice.

The Abbé de La Rivière was not satisfied with that reason, and wishing to efface from the minister's mind the opinion that he would have saved the Prince de Condé from this danger could he have done so, he employed his strength in proving to him that he should have found some way to evade the promise he had given to the prince. He assured the cardinal that to rid him of the Prince de Conti was the greatest service he could have done him, and he added that as the cardinal must have known this was so, he saw plainly that he meant to ruin him. The cardinal, not knowing how to reply, took him by the hand and led him to the queen, whom they found still shut up in her oratory.

The queen was prepared with what she had to say to him. She let him enter the oratory, and bidding him close the door made him excuses for what she had done against him, and assured him she would obtain the cardinal's hat for him,

and also the restored good-will of his master. This was not at all the queen's intention, still less that of her minister, who did not wish the Duc d'Orléans, in the position in which he was now to be placed, to have a favourite about his person who, seeking to be cardinal, might become his equal in dignity, and possibly more powerful than he. The royal authority being weakened, there was reason to fear that the abbé, losing the pacific spirit he had hitherto shown, might become troublesome. But as the cleverest persons sometimes mislead themselves by their own arguments, the cardinal soon after became aware that he had taken his measures badly; for he encountered from the *frondeurs* precisely that which he had only feared from the abbé.

After this mild conversation the abbé went off full of trouble, hope, and fear, to his master at the Luxembourg. He found the Duc d'Orléans enchanted at the success of the affair, and very much embarrassed towards himself. He reproached the prince for the distrust he had shown to him, and tried to prove to him that he was wrong in suspecting him of infidelity. But for all his words the prince had neither heart nor ears. The wiliness of the minister, the affair of Mademoiselle de Soyon, the intrigue of the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, and the influence of the Fronde, which the abbé had neglected for the Prince de Condé and Madame de Longueville, — all these things had so roughly assailed the affection the Duc d'Orléans had formerly borne him that his ruin was at last determined. Nothing less than all this would have sufficed to destroy the fortunes of this favourite, who had seemed so firmly established that few men in those days, subject to the favour of Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, had more luck or more power than he. The Duc d'Orléans, however, having once changed to him, abandoned him to his enemies and promised them to dismiss him. He remained

ever after convinced that the hat had turned his brain, and that his desire for it had made him faithless to his service and to what he owed him; and, according to appearances, he had some ground to think so.

When the queen knew that the princes were well on their way she sent at once for M. de La Vrillière, secretary of State, and told him to summon Madame de Longueville, in the king's name and her own, to the Palais-Royal, where it was intended to arrest her. She was not found in her own house, and her servants went to inform her of the disaster to her brothers at the house of the princess-palatine, where she then was. The news made her faint away, as the princess-palatine told me herself; and no one seemed more agitated by the disaster than she. She went as soon as possible to the hôtel de Condé to see her mother, to whom she cried, on entering the room: "Ah! madame, my brothers!—" The Princesse de Condé was as yet ignorant of the fate of her sons. The Comte de Brienne had come, by command of the queen, to tell her of their misfortune; but he had not yet dared to give her the deadly blow. So that hearing Madame de Longueville's exclamation, she was overcome with surprise and said: "Alas! what is it? My sons, my children, — are they dead? What has happened to them?"

The Comte de Brienne, going up to her, told her they were not dead, but that the queen had had them arrested, and had sent him to tell her so. He ordered her at the same time, in the king's name, to go to one of her country-houses, and to take with her her daughter-in-law, the wife of the Prince de Condé, and the Duc d'Enghien, her grandson.

La Vrillière, who had gone to find Madame de Longueville and give her the order to go to the Palais-Royal, not having found her came to the hôtel de Condé in search of her. She answered this messenger that she should take the advice of

her mother as to what she should do. The two princesses in this interview suffered together all that grief could make them feel on such an occasion. Madame de Longueville, taking counsel of her mother, believed that the queen only summoned her to arrest her. She pretended to be willing to obey; and then, seeing that this was no time for tears, instead of going to the queen, she begged the princess-palatine, her best friend, to drive her away from the hôtel de Condé that she might consult with her as to what she should do. The princess-palatine at once started with her in her own coach and took her to a little house in the faubourg Saint-Germain, where she sent for her step-daughter, Mademoiselle de Longueville.

Her friends came to her. The Prince de Marsillac, and her brother-in-law, the Marquis de Sillery, offered to follow and serve her on this occasion. She accepted their offer gladly, as the only succour that remained to her. After this she got into the carriage of her friend the princess-palatine, who assured her that she would faithfully serve her during her disaster; which she effectually did with much ability and courage. Madame de Longueville started instantly and drove all night, intending to reach Normandy as quickly as possible. She arrived there the next day as weary as she was distressed; and, to add to her desolation, she was not favourably received. [The parliament sent to beg her to leave their city; and the young Duc de Richelieu refused to receive her at Havre.] Her children remained with her mother, the Princesse de Condé, who, having taken no part in her intrigues, nevertheless had a full share in the misfortunes which her ambition had brought upon her family.

Half an hour after the arrest of the Prince de Condé, Chavigny, who was in his interests, still ignorant of the news, went to see Madame Du Plessis-Guénégaud, who had just

heard it from a lacquey sent to her by her husband, who, being Secretary of State, had witnessed the arrest at the council. This lady was a daughter of the late Maréchal de Praslin. Her birth gave her persons of the highest rank as relations, and her own excellence gave her many friends. The queen, who did not know her well, never treated her with the distinction that her good qualities deserved. And her heart, full of the noble pride which to human reason seems legitimate, made her endeavour in consequence to make for herself and in her own house a species of dominion which should console her for a privation which she could not bear without suffering when at Court.

For these reasons she received many visitors, and there were few cabinet secrets concealed from her. She was by nature susceptible of much affection and much hatred. Her tenderness for her friends induced her to take part in their interests; and she found herself, without thought and without consulting reason, nearly always opposed to whatever was against them. Those who hated the minister found fidelity, inspiration, and much animosity against him in her; though perhaps it was unjust, and more from fancied wrongs than from any apparent subject of complaint she had against him. As everybody thought her capable of secrecy and as well-fitted to advise them in their affairs as she was to console them in their troubles, they all went to her to pour into her bosom the worries which commerce with the world is sure to bring to those who love it most. Through her own feelings she took part in the emotions of others, and this combination made her too sensitive to what, at this period, pleased, or displeased her. Besides these good and bad qualities, she had an unblemished virtue. She was quite agreeable in person; and, together with a serious nature capable of the highest things, she had an extreme gaiety.

so that many good things met together in intercourse with her and in the pleasure of her society.

This lady, such as I represent her, was dearly loved by Chavigny. He kept nothing hidden from her, and the close alliance he had with the Prince de Condé against the minister was known to her. When she saw him, not doubting the grief the prince's imprisonment would cause him, she spoke of it pityingly. Chavigny, who had not as yet heard the news, was keenly distressed; it surprised and shocked him. Then, after reflecting a few moments, he raised his eyes to heaven and striking his hands together, he exclaimed: "It is a great misfortune for the prince, and for his friends. But, to tell the truth, the cardinal has done well; without this, he was lost." These words hid, no doubt, many mysteries; and in view of the then state of things, it may be said that the minister on this occasion was not unskilful, and that he deserved a favourable success for his boldness.

VIII.

1650.

THE queen, being informed that the princes had arrived and were surrounded by the thick walls of the prison of Vincennes, ordered the gates of the Palais-Royal to be opened and every one to be allowed to enter. The news being divulged, the crowd was great in the queen's apartments. The Frondeurs had *frondéd* so well that they had put their enemies *hors de combat*, and they hastened to come and enjoy their victory in the place where, shortly before, they were hated and treated as enemies. Curiosity also brought a crowd of persons to learn the causes and particulars of this great event. Even those who pitied the princes came too, some to make a good appearance and avoid being suspected; others to judge of what would follow and to form projects for the future.

I was sitting by my fireside when I heard the news, and the Marquis de Villequier, captain of the guards, afterwards duke and marshal of France, was with me. He was surprised by the misfortune of the Prince de Condé, being one of his friends, and calling himself his follower. But as the slightest personal interests of men touch them far more keenly than the greatest misfortunes that happen to their friends, instead of feeling for the disaster to this great prince according to the friendship he had for him, he cried out, saying: "The execution of that order belonged to me; I ought to have arrested him. I am ruined; it shows they distrust me." I told him he ought not to be troubled by that dis-

trust, for which, not having given cause for it, he might be consoled by thinking that it saved him from putting a friend in prison. He agreed with me, through the shame he felt at his exclamation, and went off to the queen full of pain and fury. He made great complaints to the minister, and perhaps took care to redouble them in order to efface the stigma he feared he carried on his forehead, of being a partisan of the Prince de Condé, which would not have been very proper in a captain of the body-guard; and was not really so, for he was quite incapable of failing in his duty.

As soon as Villequier had left me, I went to the queen out of curiosity, taking no part in the affair other than might be useful to her service. On entering her room I was surprised to see so many new faces. All the *frondeurs*, the minister's enemies, filled it completely. Each held his sword in his hand (sheathed, however), and all were swearing that they were good servants to the king, and were about to be defenders of the queen and of the power of the State. I thought their assumption ridiculous, and their blustering rather too strong; and as there were some worthy men in that cabal who were friends of mine, I told them what I thought, and made them agree that I had reason to laugh at them. After that I talked with certain wise and moderate men. They thought that the imprisonment of the Prince de Condé was undoubtedly a bold and vigorous action, which, apparently, would do good to France, and calm the too violent passions of the illustrious prisoner. But, as weak bodies, whose bad humours are too easily stirred up, cannot take medicine without great commotion, they thought it doubtful if the Court, being agitated by the many factions which for so long a time had disturbed its peace, could now benefit by the remedy.

By this act, Cardinal Mazarin showed clearly that he was

not so feeble but that he could take steps of great power when it pleased him ; and one of those whom he consulted in this affair [Laigues] told me that when he proposed to the cardinal to arrest the prince, he did not hesitate for a moment to resolve upon it. It is certain, however, that he had shown such fear of displeasing him, and had behaved to him with such submission, that he had himself opened the way to be abused by him. The Prince de Condé, by nature, was not as formidable in the cabinet as in war, and if he had only met with some firmness in the minister's soul, those who knew him thoroughly said he would have been gentle and tractable ; they declared that his last violent oppositions came from his belief that the cardinal was held in contempt by every one, and from the flatteries of his courtiers, who, in speaking of the minister, always called him the prince's slave.

On that same day there were persons in the interests of the Prince de Condé who told me, speaking of the causes of his imprisonment, that, by the minister's own admission, he had, during the war, promised the Pont-de-l'Arche to the Duc de Longueville, to draw him by that hope to the king's side ; and that when peace was made he confirmed the promise. They added that before the war there was a secret negotiation between the cardinal and the Duc de Longueville, by which the minister made the duke expect Havre-de-Grâce, provided he arranged with the Prince de Condé, his brother-in-law, for the marriage of Mademoiselle d'Alais, daughter of the Duc d'Angoulême, the prince's cousin, with Mazarin's nephew Mancini ; and that the cardinal, to give his nephew the rank that would make him worthy of a marriage with a princess who bore the name of Valois (as granddaughter of a bastard of Charles IX., and niece of the Princesse de Condé), had proposed to bestow

upon him the sovereignty of Charleville and the Admiralty; but the Prince de Condé, not willing to break his word to the Duc de Joyeuse, brother of the Duc de Guise, to whom he had promised Mademoiselle d'Alais, broke up the negotiation and would not hear of it,—all the more because he wanted that sovereignty for himself.

The prince, in course of time, used these very things to show that he was not criminal in wishing that Havre should be in the hands of his friend the Duc de Richelieu, inasmuch as the cardinal had held out the hope of it to the Duc de Longueville, solely for the aggrandizement of his family. And when the prince was angry about the marriage of the Duc de Mercœur, the cardinal admitted he had first sought alliance with him by the marriage of his nephew to his relation, Mademoiselle d'Alais, and had been refused.

The followers and nearest friends of the princes, seeing them arrested, escaped to the different places they commanded with as much expedition as was possible. The Duc de Bouillon and the Vicomte de Turenne were the first to take flight. They and the Prince de Marsillac were missed by a few moments only; for, by the queen's determination, they were to share the same fate, but were warned in time.

On the evening of this celebrated day, the queen, appearing before the whole Court, spoke of the Prince de Condé with great moderation. She said to all that she was sorry to have been forced, for the peace of the State, to order his arrest, considering his merit, his birth, and his services; but that the king's interests went before all other considerations. She received Madame de Montbazon, who came to congratulate her with the eagerness of a person well-pleased, coldly, and told her she was not capable of feeling joy for a thing of that nature; she had thought it necessary, but did not find it delectable; and would have considered herself very

happy if the Prince de Condé had kindly not compelled her to it.

That answer seemed to me to proceed from a truly royal soul; and equity obliged me to feel joyful for it. I approached the queen, and after praising in a low voice that humanity, I took the liberty of kissing her hand as if to thank her for it. As for myself, personally, I had no attachment to the illustrious prisoner. I acknowledge, however, that the fall of so great a man stirred me to pity, and I was vexed to see his enemies triumphing in his misfortune. They were a thousand times more guilty towards the queen than he, and had nothing on their side to save them but luck and fortunate conjunctures.

The day ended with an interview of an hour which Laigues had with the queen. She was in her bed when he talked with her, and it was he who closed her curtains at midnight. That great amateur of new things was bold in proposing them, firm in supporting them, and very skilful in persuading others to accept them. But all that the queen was obliged to do in favour of these new and bad servants could not prevent her from speaking of the Prince de Condé with the esteem she owed to him; and her judgment was the reason why this cabal was forced, in these first days, to set bounds to their joy. Their moderation did not last long. A few days later, without the queen contributing in any way, the imprisonment of the prince, became a topic of jest and gaiety to all the courtiers; each, believing that he made himself agreeable by so doing, tried to manifest his satisfaction.

The following night the Duc de Beaufort, by advice of the Duc d'Orléans, rode through the streets on horseback to show himself to the people, and to reassure certain little men who fancied they were being deceived and believed it

was their own good prince who was put in prison. The rejoicings were great in Paris at the imprisonment of the Prince de Condé, whom the people hated because of the opposition he had always shown to their protector, the Duc de Beaufort. That favourite of the populace, seeing himself in a position to profit by the favours of the Court, wished to be reconciled to the minister. He sent him congratulations, and even wished to show him submission by taking his orders for the dangerous ride he took through the streets that night.¹

The next day, as soon as the queen woke, her great cabinet and her entire apartments were so filled with people that it was difficult to pass through them. She was no sooner awake than the Duc d'Orléans came to see her. They conversed together for some time, she being still in her bed; and it was easy for the spectators to guess the subject of their conversation.

I had heard the evening before that the Abbé de La Rivière was standing ill in his affairs, and that he had not been in the secret of this great event. I went up to him to know if that were so. He answered that it was true he had no knowledge of the imprisonment. "If so," I said, "are you not lost?" "No doubt of it," he answered. "My master no longer speaks to me; my foot is slipping, but I am tranquil for all that." He left me to follow the Duc d'Orléans to the apartment of the cardinal, who still kept up a show of great friendship for him. As soon as the queen had risen, she received the congratulations of a great many persons of rank, who assured her of their fidelity, and several relatives of the prisoners were among their number.

The queen sent orders to Catalonia to arrest Marsin, who

¹ This famous ride with torches of the "king of the markets" lasted from nine in the evening till two in the morning. — FR. ED.

commanded the army in Spain. He was a follower of the Prince de Condé, and had obtained his appointment through him. Parliament and the other sovereign courts were summoned; and the queen gave them the reasons which had compelled her to secure the persons of the three princes; and having told them the reasons, the assemblies seemed satisfied.

The Princesse de Condé sent to entreat her Majesty to let her stay one day in her own house, and one day at the Carmelites; which the queen granted readily. During those two days all the persons of rank in Paris went to visit her, to prove to her the part they took in her sorrow. This princess was held personally in high esteem, partly because of her own self. Her children gave her no share in their schemes or their authority; though the power which they possessed naturally increased hers.

The Commandeur de Jars went to see her with the rest. He belonged to the cabal of Châteauneuf, which opposed the house of Condé, but the princess, knowing him to be a man of honour, embraced him, weeping bitterly. She then said to him: "Commander, you have always been my friend; you see the state in which I am; may I make you an entreaty?" "Yes, madame," he said, "and provided that it is within my power there is nothing that an honourable man can do that I would not do with joy in your service." "My poor son, the Prince de Conti," the princess then said to him, "is infirm, delicate, and unwell; he will suffer much from not having his valet, who understands how to serve him. I beg of you, obtain from the queen an order to send the man to him; and that will in some degree comfort me." The Commandeur de Jars, who has the heart of a true gentleman, left her at once to do her this little service, and went immediately to the queen, to whom he repeated what the

princess had said to him. It was kindly received by the queen; so much so that the valet was sent that same day to Vincennes for the comfort of the Prince de Conti, whom his mother loved with extreme tenderness.

The Duc de Beaufort and the coadjutor, who had not as yet seen the king and queen, went on the 22d of the month [January] full of apparent, or veritable, glory and satisfaction at their destiny, to salute their Majesties at the Palais-Royal; the Duc d'Orléans presented them. They were received in accordance with the times; that is to say, as persons to whom all things happen according to their wishes, and not according to their deserving. The Abbé de La Rivière did not resemble them. His favour was dying, and his courage sustained him for only a few days longer. He was not at this presentation, but he came to the queen's apartment shortly after. I asked him in what state his affairs were. He answered, laughing, that he was very feeble, and living on a regimen. He spoke the truth; but in spite of his regimen his disease grew worse. The minister began to show the little will he had to keep his word to him; consequently, his favour was threatened with a speedy end. The queen, in my presence, did not omit to ask him how he stood with Monsieur. And he, as if it were a jest, replied that his master no longer looked at him, and having lost his nourishment he expected to die of inanition.

Seeing himself lost, he judged it best to end with a good grace. He tried to speak once more with the Duc d'Orléans, in order to justify himself to him; but the prince avoided the interview and would not hear him. When he saw clearly that his disaster had no remedy and his master had no ears for him, he asked him, through his friend, the Marquis de Termes, for permission to pass a fortnight at his house at Petit-Bourg. That favour was readily granted, and apparently

for a longer time. He gave that night a supper to his friends, at which he showed such gaiety that many of them thought he was reinstated. He departed the next morning at six o'clock without showing either grief or anxiety.

He lost at one stroke court favour, the hat, and the hope he had that, in default of the hat, he should be made Archbishop of Reims. But, in resigning at last the hope of being cardinal, he seemed to lose his ambition, and to wish to leave all anxieties behind him to his successor. He was betrayed in the house of the Duc d'Orléans by those he had obliged and who owed him their fortunes, and was followed only by a few who owed him nothing. He returned to the latter what he had received from the former; and they were ill-paid. The great property which remained to him might, nevertheless, have given him the means to do better by them; but he was a man, and resembled ordinary men.

Some time later, the Duc d'Orléans sent him a command to go to one of his abbeys, and afterwards to Aurillac, in the depths of the Auvergne, and to return the seals of the Order which he had bought of the Keeper of the Seals, Château-neuf, for three hundred thousand francs. He did not always put a good face on his misfortune; he suffered these evils with little patience and much grief. But, having a high spirit, he appeared at first to show courage and firmness in bearing his disaster, receiving its worst blows in an estimable manner. He played the first act of the comedy well; the rest deserves no praise. No virtue can exist, unless it is founded on piety.

Boutteville, with a few others, under pretext of what had happened formerly in the garden of the "Renard," challenged the Duc de Beaufort to fight, which he would not do,—not for lack of courage, for certainly he was brave, there was something grand about his soul; but he did not choose

to involve himself in private quarrels. He thought it was better to live to enjoy the fruits of the miserable intrigues in which he was concerned. Princes often affect to avoid combats with private individuals, and this one followed the principle very willingly.

Towards the end of the month of January news came that the Vicomte de Turenne had taken the rank of lieutenant-general of the army of the king, in order to liberate the princes. The queen having lately dismissed the troops that the princes commanded, many of them went to join the Vicomte de Turenne at Stenay, and mustered, as the queen was told, some three thousand men. It was determined to send the Duc de Vendôme at once into Champagne, with an army to oppose this enemy, and with orders to seize the government of Bourgogne, which belonged to the Prince de Condé.

The queen, on her side, resolved to go to Normandy to make sure of that province, which she judged ought not to be left under the influence of Madame de Longueville. The parliament of Rouen, and many persons of rank were showing some disposition to create an uproar in favour of the *frondeuse* princess. But the Marquis de Beuvron, governor of the place, an old friend of the Duc de Longueville, was resolved, though perhaps against his own wishes, to do his duty; and having shown him plainly that he could not serve him, he made his wife aware that she must not expect much support. Madame de Longueville, seeing herself ill-received, determined to go to Dieppe, and find some encouragement there. Many of the gentlemen of the province went to Dieppe to visit her; they took her a few soldiers, and some offered money, and lent it to her. The Prince de Marsillac had already quitted her to go to his government in Touraine, intending to form a party in that part of the country

where he was powerful, through his friends and his influence. No one of rank and importance remained with her but Saint-Ibal, Traci, and Bavière, and a certain Saint-André, very skilful in fortifications. There were also a few provincials of consequence who did not abandon her. She intended to remain in Dieppe as long as she possibly could, and if the king drove her out of it, to take ship and seek in foreign countries, like Madame de Chevreuse, the refuge that the unfortunate always find there.

Montigny, governor of Dieppe, a worthy man, in receiving Madame de Longueville, did not neglect to assure the queen of his fidelity. The Marquis de Beuvron had done the same. In that he was praiseworthy. Both were under great obligations to the Duc de Longueville; and though their conduct was alike, their sentiments may have been different. Madame de Longueville had attempted to go to Havre. But the Duc de Richelieu could not receive her because he was not wholly master there. The principal officers were all for Madame d'Aiguillon, who naturally disliked a rebellious and ungrateful nephew. So that Madame de Longueville, who had procured this government for the husband of her friend (Madame de Pons) with the intention of profiting by it herself, had the vexation of finding that marriage so far the cause of her troubles that she did not receive even the slightest relief or comfort from it.

The queen, in accordance with her resolution, left Paris February 1, and arrived at Rouen on the 3d. Before starting, she sent to arrest the Duchesse de Bouillon, who was so adroit that the moment she saw the man who came to arrest her, she saved her male children by sending them to a place of safety. This lady has been famed for the love she bore her husband, for that which her husband gave her, for her beauty, and for the part which fortune caused her to

play in the events of the Court. She was delivered of a child the very day of her arrest; but without inconvenience to her person, for she received, by order of the queen, all the succour necessary to her in that state. On all occasions of forced severity, such as kings are obliged to meet, the queen almost never failed to give to the unfortunate persons all the mitigations that reasons of State permitted.

The cardinal remained a few days longer in Paris to attend to his affairs.

Mademoiselle de Soyon, lady-in-waiting to Madame, allied herself wholly with the minister after the departure of the Abbé de La Rivière. Those of the cabal which now reigned over the Duc d'Orléans, among them Razé and Belloy, ensign of his guards, brought forward Goulas, secretary of the military commands of the Duc d'Orléans, whom the Abbé de La Rivière had always held unjustly at a distance from his master. He was his enemy, and for that reason he thought he ought to injure him. But such conduct was neither laudable nor legitimate, though customary and profitable. All these persons promised the cardinal entire fidelity, obtaining from him a few little favours and great promises for the future. The cardinal's intention was to use these petty favourites, whom he could pay with small things, to prevent, by them, the Duc d'Orléans from delivering himself over to the *frondeurs*. All such precautions served him nothing, however; he soon found out that the latter were bent on the usurpation of favour, and he began almost at once to seek means to humiliate and destroy them in their turn. They wished to belong to all the councils, and assumed to rule in affairs of State.

Cardinal Mazarin was not liberal of his power nor of his honourable employments. He valued them too much to let others share in them. He himself wrote all the despatches

on foreign affairs; he alone exercised nearly all the great functions at Court. It is to be believed that the persons so lately become his friends were suspected by him. Still, he had to show a good face towards them; this was no time to let them see what was in his heart. He was obliged to leave Madame de Chevreuse near the Duc d'Orléans, with little security as to the conduct of that prince, and to wholly abandon parliament, the cabal for the princes, and Paris itself to the Fronde. As a hostage for the latter's fidelity he carried off on his journey the Marquis de Noirmoutiers, a great *frondeur*, that he might keep in communication with the others. He then went to join the queen and assist in driving the Duchesse de Longueville from Dieppe.

The Comte d'Harcourt, who had the maintenance of the government of Normandy, commanded the army of the king, which was small. The royal person was not attended as usual; the king had but forty guards, thirty light-horse cavalry, and thirty gendarmes. He had little money and few troops; but the authority of legitimate power often equals the strength of big battalions.

The king and queen were received at Rouen with signs of great joy, such as a young king whose beauty and innocence were certain to please his people, deserved. They had never seen him, or the queen, who, though she had travelled through nearly all France, had never yet been to this great and important city. On the 7th of February, Chamboi, who commanded in Pont-de-l'Arche and had orders from Madame de Longueville to surrender the place at the first summons, gave it up at once, on payment of two thousand pistoles, which he demanded for the costs of the garrison.

The queen, on arriving at Rouen, sent word to the Duc de Richelieu to come and see her. The Abbé de Richelieu came to Court to assure their Majesties of his brother's good

intentions and those of Madame de Richelieu, his sister-in-law. The latter desired to have her marriage confirmed by the king and queen. She worked for this by negotiations with the minister, who finally allowed himself to be persuaded. He sent her word that if she and her husband continued faithfully attached to their duty, the queen would give her the *tabouret*, and she should be treated as Duchesse de Richelieu; which was done a few days later.

La Croisette, who commanded in Caen, with fifty thousand *livres* of revenue from the Duc de Longueville his master, sent at once to assure their Majesties of his fidelity, and received in the city and castle a substitute appointed to command them in his stead.

Mademoiselle de Longueville quitted her step-mother, and with the queen's permission, went to Coulommiers to spend the first months of the imprisonment of her father the Duc de Longueville. She had much intelligence and merit. Her virtue and the tranquillity of her life sheltered her from the storms of the Court; and though she bore the name of *frondeuse*, the queen, who knew the little bond there was between herself and her step-mother, thought it was just to leave her in peace to enjoy her greatest pleasures, which she found in books and in the ease of an innocent idleness. For these reasons her retreat was respected by all and gave great comfort to herself. The desire for knowledge and solitude suits with sad circumstances when persons are wise and virtuous enough to feel all that they should feel.

The queen sent commands to Madame de Longueville to leave Dieppe and go to Coulommiers. But the princess's heart was too ulcerated against her enemies to obey orders which she believed to come from them under the name of the queen. She felt herself capable of great enterprises, and thought it better to preserve herself for something more

useful to her party than mere rest in that house, where, indeed, she was not sure of perfect safety.

On receiving the order of the queen, she pretended to be ill and said she would obey it as soon as she recovered. Le Plessis-Bellière was ordered to Dieppe with a few troops, and when she heard of their approach, she did her best to win over the governor of that city, and persuade him to hold out against the royal forces. M. de Montigny, as was always believed, wishing to be faithful to the king, represented to her the difficulty of such an undertaking, and made her see that he could not, alone, without money and without troops, do as she wished. In conclusion he advised her to escape by sea and go to Flanders to await better times. Madame de Longueville, who knew that the greatest service she could render the imprisoned princes was to keep Normandy for them, did not yield to this last blow. She attempted to win to her side the burghers, the officers, and the lower classes of the town. She talked to them vigorously, using soft and humble entreaties, and said everything she could to rouse them to take up her defence. She made use of the public hatred against Mazarin, representing to them how glorious it would be if they sent word to the king that they would open to him the gates of their city provided he would not bring the minister with him.

They, who loved their peace and felt no uneasiness at being governed by Mazarin, whom they would as readily obey as any other, replied, very naturally, that they were servants of the king, and it was not just to take from him the liberty to employ whom he pleased to serve him. They declared to the princess that their intention was to send to their Majesties an assurance of their fidelity, with a message to the king that he could be master of their city when it pleased him to come there. Madame de Longueville, being

thus without resource, saw all her hopes evaporate. But her great courage did not abandon her, and she now thought seriously of escape. She made a general confession, which seemed to bear all the marks of true contrition, and although she retained her intention of making war, she had no great scruple in doing so, believing that self-defence permitted it.

When she found herself close-pressed by Le Plessis-Bellière, who threatened to besiege the castle in which she was, she went out by a little door in the rear, which was left unguarded, followed by those of her women who had the courage not to leave her, and a few gentlemen. She walked two leagues to reach a little harbour, where there were only two fishing-boats. She resolved to embark, against the advice of the sailors, with the intention of going out to a large vessel, which she kept at anchor expressly for the purpose of saving her in case she was forced to fly. The wind was so strong and the surf so high that the sailor who had taken her in his arms to carry her to the boat, not being able to resist them, let her drop into the sea. She expected to be drowned; but was finally recovered and dragged out of danger, more troubled by her ill-luck than depressed by the accident.

Having recovered her strength and revived her courage, she wanted to make another attempt in the same peril. The wind, increasing every moment, prevented this, and made her resolve to take horses and ride forward *en croupe*: this the ladies and maids in her suite did also. In this state she rode all night, arriving in the morning at the house of a gentleman of Caux, who received her and concealed her with much affection and good-will. From there she sent one of her people to order the vessel that awaited her to coast round to where she was. But it turned out that the master of the

ship had been bought by the cardinal, and she would have been arrested had she gone on board as she intended.

Following this adventure, she remained for some fifteen days, hiding from place to place, according to the intelligence that reached her; until at length she sent to Havre, where she engaged the captain of an English vessel, on board of which she was received as a gentleman who had just fought a duel. This captain, being well paid, asked for no further information, and came to fetch her in a little bay. The vessel then took her to Holland, where she was visited by the Prince of Orange, his wife, and mother; after which she went to Stenay. When there, she wrote a letter to the king in the form of a manifesto, which was highly thought of. It was full of artful complaints; and without doubt she composed it herself, having always been able to write as well as any one in the world.

While the king was thus fortunate in Normandy he was not less so in Champagne. The Chevalier de La Rochefoucauld was in Damvilliers, where he commanded for the Prince de Conti. The officers under him bound him and put him, in that state, into the power of the king, with the place itself, which the Prince de Conti had obtained by the treaty of Paris. Clermont was also recovered from the princes,—the Maréchal de La Ferté contributing much through his connections in the place.

The queen, believing from the report of Le Plessis-Bellièvre, who had entered Dieppe, that Madame de Longueville had embarked (inasmuch as he could not find her), resolved to return to Paris. She left Rouen February 22d, after seeing the Duchesse de Richelieu and giving her the *tabouret*. She went by Gaillon to see that fine residence of our archbishops; where she received a courier from the Comte d'Harcourt, assuring her of the embarkation of Madame de Longueville.

On her return to Paris she received the whole *frondeuse* cabal with manifestations of good-will that were most agreeable to them. But as they wanted effectual proofs of it, they demanded the return of Châteauneuf and his appointment as Keeper of the Seals. They all went very direct to the support of one another, particularly to that of the man whom they regarded as their leader, and to whom they wished eventually to give the place of the minister.

The cardinal, who knew very well to what their desires tended, listened to these proposals with reluctance. He resisted for some time. But, having no reason to doubt the firmness of the queen, he believed it prudent on his side to please the cabal, and give some authority to Châteauneuf, in order to show to all that he was in a position to fear nothing. He wanted to make them see that their wishes if granted would be of none effect, and would only serve to undeceive their belief that their friend, when brought near the queen, could influence her against him. The intrigues the latter had made against the service of the king had displeased the queen, as mother and as regent; and in equity she could no longer esteem him.

The cardinal, thus urged by false friends and his own judgment, resolved to yield with a good grace. He hoped that Châteauneuf, as Keeper of the Seals and a good citizen, being brought to know he could not have the first place, would content himself with the second; and that perhaps he might be able to use him to moderate the impetuous ardour of the Fronde. The coadjutor had himself so great a cabal, a soul so audacious, a heart so filled with passions, and a genius so powerful in making him beloved by those who knew him, that it was already difficult for the minister to prevent him from entering the heart of the Duc d'Orléans, and consequently impossible to refuse whatever they deter-

mined upon. By thus putting the prince on their side they had reason to think that their will would soon be immutable law. But the clever dissimulation of him whose master they expected to become surmounted in the end the force of the strongest of them.

The return of Châteauneuf being thus determined by both sides, on the first of March at seven in the evening, La Vrillière went in the king's name to obtain the Seals from Chancellor Séguier. He gave them up, saying that he believed he had served the king well, and had worthily discharged his duty during the seventeen years he had held that office; and that he knew it was reasons of State, rather than his own undeserving, which obliged the queen to this step. That was why he begged her to believe he resigned the Seals without regret, hoping that she would ever treat him as the very faithful servant of the king and herself. Séguier, who knew the state of things, and who felt that his own ambition was limited to the Seals themselves, did not doubt the reluctance of the minister to make this change. For these reasons he returned them without much show of regret, and did what men compel themselves to do on such occasions, namely: receive with firmness the rough blows of fate and misfortune.

I saw the Seals brought to the queen's oratory, where she was praying to God. They remained there till the morrow, when they were carried to Châteauneuf at Montrouge. Formerly they had been taken from him to give them to Séguier, who now lost them in the same manner that the other had lost them earlier. These events are games of fortune directed by the will of the King of kings, who disposes of the destiny of His creatures as He will. A Court is full of such changes.

The new, and old, Keeper of Seals received this last favour

when he was over seventy years of age, though full of health, courage, and ambition. He still formed great designs for the future, without reflecting that that future was for him too short a space in which to put many projects and chimeras.

The next day, Ash-Wednesday, he came to pay his respects to the king and to thank the queen. It is to be supposed he began his compliments with the minister: I was assured that he made them strong, and told him that he desired to be his true friend. The Palais-Royal was that day crowded with people. This man, who had been so visited at Montrouge when without power, now easily became the idol of the courtiers. They believed he would drive out the minister, or, at any rate, take part in the ministry. When he arrived, every one followed him,—all wanted to see him. It seemed as if they thought that Cardinal Mazarin had already fallen from greatness, that he was no longer the queen's minister, that she herself was changed, and that all authority was now placed in the hands of the new-comer.

The next day he entered the council, and resumed his former place. It was perhaps thought proper to pay homage to a man who had known how to skilfully triumph over the minister by forcing him to put him in an office from which, to all appearance, he would soon rise to the higher place. The queen thought it wrong that such signs of public joy should be given for his return, and she did me the honour to say that she did not know why they made such a noise about that man, and they were mistaken if they hoped he would ever be more than he was then. As she was really considering her minister, and believed it to be both her duty and glory to sustain him, this applause given to Châteauneuf was the cause why she fortified herself against these innovators, and formed a design to keep Châteauneuf from succeed-

ing in his purpose to win her confidence, which she resolved not to give him.

The cardinal, whose great desire was to maintain himself in the place he held, showed a good face to his rival and behaved as though he did not fear him. He offered him his house, wished him to live there for some time, and treated him so amiably that Châteauneuf was forced to praise him and publicly acknowledge that he owed him much and was his servitor and friend. The queen, to gratify the Fronde in every way, gave the government of the Bastille to the son of Broussel, who had usurped it during the war. She brought into her very circle that man who had caused her so many painful hours, and treated him well. All these things were done by advice of the cardinal and according to his usual policy — which was to gain time and to dissimulate.

After the establishment of Châteauneuf as Keeper of the Seals, the queen resolved to go into Bourgogne to strengthen the authority of the king by the taking of Bellegarde, which still held out for the Prince de Condé. She started March 5, followed only by her ladies and the Princesse de Carignan with her daughter, the Princesse Louise.

The cardinal remained in Paris a day behind the queen to recommend himself to the charitable offices of Madame de Chevreuse, the coadjutor, and the principal leaders of that troop. Things were so troubled, the storm seemed so near to bursting, and prophecies were so alarming, that on this day many persons, on both sides, believed that the cardinal would be assassinated, and several warnings were sent to him. He started at last, leaving in Paris the Duc d'Orléans, the Keeper of the Seals, and the whole *frondeur* sect. Le Tellier and Servien, secretly employed by the queen, stayed behind to serve the king, and be the faithful champions of the minister against his bad friends.

Politicians noticed that on leaving Paris the minister, always wily, had exhibited much good-will to the followers of the imprisoned princes; and that, wishing perhaps to cause some fear to the Orléans cabal, he had affected to treat those of the opposite party well, in order to show the cabal that if it did ill by him he might defend himself against its oppression through the Prince de Condé.

The queen on leaving Paris had given Comminges the government of Saumur, vacant by the death of the Duc de Brézé, father of the Princesse de Condé, the prince's wife. He went there soon after to take possession, but was refused an entrance. The Prince de Marsillac, who, within a few days, had become, by the death of his father, Duc de La Rochefoucauld, and who had correspondents in Saumur, was the cause of this refusal. Under pretext of his father's funeral, he assembled two thousand gentlemen to go to the help of that quasi-rebellious town. But Comminges, more fortunate than he, had offered money in the name of the king to the person who commanded the place, had concluded his treaty, and taken possession before the other seigneur arrived.

Directly after the departure of the queen the Duchesse de Bouillon, arrested in her house in Paris by order of the king, found means to deceive her guards and cleverly escape from her chamber. Mademoiselle de Bouillon, her daughter, whom she had with her, went in to see her. Pretending to find her mother asleep, she asked the sentinel who was stationed in the antechamber to light her down. The sentinel took the light, and walking before the young lady, enabled Madame de Bouillon, following her daughter in a bent attitude, to reach the staircase and descend into the cellar, where the little Mademoiselle de Bouillon and her women having gone to join her, they all escaped through a vent-hole, by the help of friends outside who drew them up with ropes.

Madame de Bouillon was hidden for some time in a private house, and as she was just about to make her escape from Paris her daughter had the small-pox. This generous mother being unwilling to leave her, she was at last discovered in the house of one Bartet, agent of the King of Poland, and taken to the Bastille with Mademoiselle de Bouillon, the sister, and the very good sister, of the Duc de Bouillon. These two ladies had ambition ; it was even said that they had too much ambition, that this passion in the soul of Madame de Bouillon was the cause of the misfortune of her husband and her family, and that it was not without reason that the queen feared them. They remained in the Bastille until the peace of Bordeaux, when they were set free, with the universal esteem of every one who knew their value.

IX.

1650.

THE partisans of the Prince de Condé were not asleep; they were working to rouse parliament in their favour, and, following past examples, they tried to stir the public through its interests. Parliament assembled on the 29th to establish a chamber of justice at the Hôtel de Ville. Some private persons, to obtain what they wanted from this court, fomented these movements. Longeuil, to get his brother made superintendent, was always ready to make trouble, and the followers of the princes used him to attain their ends. But the *frondeurs*, with a show of being for the queen, avoided all discussion in regard to the princes, and for their own interests subdued the little effort easily.

The son of President Le Coigneux had the boldness to be the first to propose, in one of the courts of inquiry, to bring the princes to trial, that they might be treated according to the declaration of Saint-Germain, by which the king promised not to retain prisoners after six months without bringing them to trial, or absolving them if they were innocent. He demanded that the princes be treated according to this promise. But their party was still a weak one; Le Coigneux was hissed by the whole assembly, and his proposal had no effect.

The princess-palatine on her side worked in favour of the prisoners. She had already found means of sending letters to them, and those who were working for their liberty assembled often at her house. This princess, like many other ladies, did not dislike to make conquests with her

eyes, which were really very fine. But besides that too dangerous advantage of our sex, she had what was better; I mean intelligence, skill, and capacity to conduct an intrigue, and great facility in finding expedients by which to succeed in whatever she undertook. As soon as she had resolved to serve the princes she applied herself carefully to find means to succeed in her design. As it seemed to her necessary to draw the *frondeurs* to her side, she made use of Madame de Rhodes, a friend of hers, to propose to Madame de Chevreuse the marriage of the Prince de Conti to her daughter Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, and she sought to win over the other leaders by equally considerable interests touching each in particular; and these were not hard to find, for they all had them, either great or small.

The Duc de Nemours, a friend of the Prince de Condé and ill-satisfied with the minister, was one of those who acted the most powerfully through his friends for the liberty of the prisoners. [He even prepared a plan of escape while the princes were imprisoned in the castle of Marcoussis.] President Viole was a violent solicitor, and Longueil did marvels inasmuch as he never ceased intriguing. They all approved the ideas of the princess-palatine, especially that of the marriage of the Prince de Conti to Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. Madame de Longueville, informed of it by the princess, sent her word from Stenay that she thought it good and that they might all work for it. The princess, neglecting nothing that could bring about the success of her work, lost not a moment in advancing step by step. But these great undertakings are not done easily; time alone brings them gently to their end, which is often not that which men are seeking. God, who changes and perfects them, gives them finally the end that He thinks it best they should attain.

While these intrigues were being premeditated in Paris, the queen was in Bourgogne, where she was received with many marks of affection. The army of the king could not undertake the siege of Bellegarde as soon as she expected, on account of the floods; it was forced to wait until April 4, when the investment of the place began; and the cardinal, who went in person to visit it, approached so closely that he narrowly escaped being killed, one of his gentlemen being wounded beside him.

On the 12th of the same month, the queen, warned that the friends of the princes were trying to rouse parliament in their favour, sent an order to the Princesse de Condé, the mother, to go to Montrond, inasmuch as she was holding communication with the enemies of the State. At the same time orders were given to a lieutenant of the body-guard to arrest her daughter-in-law, the Princesse de Condé, and keep her a prisoner at Chantilly. This princess, being warned, and advised by those who thought her person necessary to their designs, put one of her daughters in her bed, and escaped in spite of the guards, with her son, the Duc d'Enghien, and went to Montrond before the king's people arrived there. It was thought that the queen had ordered the princess-mother to go to Montrond because the escort of the king's guard who conducted her could then seize the house, which is strong and capable of some resistance. But she, instead of going there, escaped during the night and remained for some time hidden, so that the queen did not know where she was. Meantime her daughter-in-law reached Montrond with others of her party, who seized the place intending to use it for their safety.

Already the Duc de La Rochefoucauld and the principal friends of the princes, who saw plainly that Montrond was not capable of holding out against any considerable force,

were at work to win over the inhabitants of Bordeaux, by fomenting their discontent against the Court and their hatred to the Duc d'Épernon. They made them see the obligations they were under to support the cause of the Prince de Condé inasmuch as one of the principal reasons of his imprisonment was (so they said) the help and protection he had always given them in the councils of the king. But at first they had difficulty in rousing the Bordelais to a desire to put themselves on the prince's side, and his followers were obliged to exert all their ability and all their ardour to bring them to it.

In Bourgogne the siege of Bellegarde continued, and many prayers were offered, both by the *frondeurs* and by the followers of the princes, that it might not end soon ; for both sides hoped that the bad state of affairs would prove advantageous to them, though in very different ways. The king, young as he was, went to the camp to show himself to his army. The soldiers were delighted to see him, and bore without murmuring the necessity of being paid in that money only. The disturbance of his public affairs put such great disorder into his finances that the troops for that reason were ill-paid.

Saint-Micau, who commanded in the city, fired upon the king ; but having recognized his mistake, he sent to make excuses. The presence of the young monarch, inspiring those who fought for him, gave them fresh force, and the rebels commanding in Bellegarde were weakened by it. At the end of a few days they asked to capitulate, and promised to surrender as soon as they could send to Stenay. During the truce which was granted to them, the people of the camp and town visited each other ; and as they were all Frenchmen, relations and friends, there was much caressing, with keen regret for being obliged to kill one another as if they were enemies. That is the misery of civil war.

April 27, the day the Chambers assembled, the Princesse de Condé, mother, who, ever since her escape from Chantilly, had been secreted in Paris, appeared before parliament at five in the morning, accompanied by the Marquis de Saint-Simon, and the Duchesse de Châtillon, to ask for justice on the imprisonment of the princes her sons. She presented her request to all the counsellors of the grand chamber. Many refused it; but one named Des Landes-Payen, took it for the purpose of reporting to the Assembly. She asked in this petition for safety for her own person, representing the fresh persecution which had compelled her to leave Chantilly, where she was living without thinking of aught else than praying to God; and she entreated parliament to be pleased to take cognizance of the detention of the princes, and to require that, in accordance with the king's declaration in favour of State prisoners, they should be brought to trial if they had failed in their duty to the king; or if not, that they should enjoy the privileges granted to all the king's subjects.

After Des Landes-Payen had reported the petition, the first president was deputed to ask the Duc d'Orléans on behalf of parliament for security for the princess. He replied that she must obey the king, in order to give him time to determine what he should say more precisely. While the deputation was absent the princess went from chamber to chamber asking justice and mercy together. She shed tears which told the weakness of our sex, and said words that showed the force of her sorrow, and the greatness of her downfall. The answer made by the Duc d'Orléans not being definitive, it was decreed that in consideration of her safety, parliament, while awaiting the further answer of the Duc d'Orléans, should take her under its protection, and that she should be asked to stay within the precincts of the

Palais de Justice, in any house she might be pleased to choose.

The next day parliament again sent the president to the Duc d'Orléans to speak of the interests of the Princesse de Condé. But the duke reproved him harshly and treated him as a partisan of the princes. The *frondeurs*, who did not wish that parliament should escape them and go over to the cause of the princes, served the king faithfully on this occasion, and employed all their strength and influence in making the petition of the princess of none effect. The Duc d'Orléans who also had a great interest in preventing the Prince de Condé from getting out of prison, maintained the authority of the king, and said that the princess must obey him and leave Paris, inasmuch as she was there against the king's orders. They all succeeded in their object. For parliament was not bold enough to declare itself against a cabal of which the Duc d'Orléans was the head, and which, being sustained by the royal authority, obscured that of their president.

On the 29th the Duc d'Orléans went to parliament, when his definitive answer to the request of the Princesse de Condé was to be given. The question was whether the security she asked for her person should be granted. That engagement which she wished the parliament to make with her, was likely to lead to dangerous consequences. It is no wonder that it met with opposition. The Duc d'Orléans having arrived and taken his seat, made a recapitulation of all that had happened since the imprisonment of the princes. He represented the kindness of the queen to the Princesse de Condé in leaving her at Chantilly without guards, and said that what obliged the queen to order her to leave it was the intercourse which she kept up with Bellegarde; and it was to prevent such communication that she was sent away. He said also that the Princesse de Condé not having obeyed this

order, he thought that duty to the king could not permit her resistance; that as for himself, he would serve her if he could with the queen, but she must first show that she acquiesced in the king's orders. Before entering the Chamber the princess, he said, had entreated him to be favourable, and to remember that her children had the honour to bear his name. He had replied that she must do what the king commanded, and after that obedience he would serve her in every way that was possible to him.

Notwithstanding this harangue, the chief-president still persisted in asking that some mercy should be shown to the princess, and that she be put in a position to appeal to the queen for the release of the princes her children, assuring her that she had no bad intentions against the king's service. Finally, the Duc d'Orléans, advised by the cardinal's followers whom the minister had left with him, agreed to grant three days' security to the Princesse de Condé after the return of the Court to Paris, in which to implore the mercy of the queen, provided she now left Paris and went to some country house to await her Majesty's orders.

The chief-president was satisfied with this favour. He took the word of the Duc d'Orléans, and would not allow further deliberation on this affair, fearing that the *frondeurs* would contrive to make the princess lose this advantage. He served the Prince de Condé; but he was at the same time convinced that the reunion of the royal family was desirable for the State, and that it was glorious for himself and his Assembly to be the arbiters between the king and the princes. He wished also, by bringing about this peace through the suffrages of his assembly, to prevent the latter from losing the advantages of the king's declaration by deliberating longer on the princess's petition, which would then, in the opinion of the *frondeurs*, be rejected.

In other times these very *frondeurs* had shouted to increase the power of parliament in favour of the public, in order to diminish, as they said, the tyrannical power of favourites. But they changed their conduct because their interests were changed and their passions obliged them to talk another way. Thus the affair ended less advantageously to the princess than her friends had hoped. As no deliberation was held on her petition, the matter remained for some time buried. The princess left Paris and went to Chilly to await the return of the queen, and then make use of the three days' security granted to her by the Duc d'Orléans.¹

The queen, on returning from Bourgogne, seemed ill-pleased with the Princesse de Condé and those who had visited her during her stay in Paris; which few persons had failed to do, even the king's servants. She made several complaints against the Marquis de Saint-Simon (elder brother of the duke), who had the honour to be allied to her. But as, in the position in which the princess was, generosity required that an afflicted person of her quality should be assisted, and indeed pitied, the queen's displeasure did not break forth on any one. She understood, no doubt, through her own kindness, that those who had the honour to belong to the princess did right to serve her by paying her innocent respects at the risk of their own fortunes; so that when she saw these very persons of whom she had complained, it was difficult to see that she had wished them ill.

To reward the *frondeurs* for the opposition they had made to the Princesse de Condé, the queen showed them, on her

¹ According to Montglat, she retired to Châtillon-sur-Loing, to the house of the Duchesse de Châtillon, who was herself a Montmorency, and whom she had always greatly loved. She remained there the whole summer, overcome with grief and melancholy, which finally brought on a fever of which she died at the close of the year. — FR. ED.

return, a rather favourable face, and the cardinal concealed his ill-will at what had displeased him in their conduct. The Duc de Vendôme received from the queen the Admiralty, the survivance of which was given to his son, the Duc de Beaufort, who was now, apparently, reconciled to the cardinal. This gift displeased his elder brother, the Duc de Merceœur, who thought that, having proposed to marry Cardinal Mazarin's niece, he had great claims upon him. He wrote from Catalonia, where he was, to the Duc de Beaufort, that he wished to fight a duel with him; and the two brothers were long on bad terms together; but time, which changes all things, put an end to their anger.

The Court being in Paris, Madame de Longueville, the Duc de Bouillon, the Vicomte de Turenne, and the Duc de La Rochefoucauld were declared guilty of *lèse-majesté*. This declaration was sent to all the parliaments of France.

Madame de Longueville and the Maréchal de Turenne, being at Stenay, had made a treaty with the Spaniards, which they said was very advantageous to them because they had saved Stenay, of which they remained the masters; moreover they caused to be attached to the general peace the condition of the freedom of the princes; promising the Spaniards not to be reconciled to the king until all the places taken from Spain were returned to her. The Duc de La Rochefoucauld, assembling a great number of the nobles, declared openly against the king. He wished, for his first exploit to seize Saumur. But, having missed his stroke and knowing that Maréchal de La Meilleraye, governor of Bretagne, was marching against him with a number of troops, he resolved to send four hundred gentlemen to Montrond, and to go himself to join the Duc de Bouillon who had a close understanding with Bordeaux.

These two rebels resolved together to foment as much as

possible the rebellion of that city, in order to support their warfare against the king. They sent Langlade, the Duc de Bouillon's secretary, there, that they might use him for this great work. Langlade, having a quick mind full of ideas, talked as men do who have the art of deceiving dupes. With these qualities and the necessity which urged him to perform this service for his master (who without this refuge was lost and his party destroyed), Langlade worked so well and with such dexterity that he persuaded many of the people of Bordeaux to enter into the interests of the princes. This was not done without much difficulty, because there were in that city, as he told me himself, men who were wise enough to know the danger of such an engagement.

At the same time the Ducs de Bouillon and de La Rochefoucauld sent Chavagnac to carry off from Montrond the wife of the Prince de Condé and the little Duc d'Enghien, his son, because they judged that if the king attacked them where they were, they could not long defend themselves. The conductors of the princess and the Duc d'Enghien resolved to go to Bordeaux and attempt to occupy the place. But at the sight of them the city closed its gates. The parliament and the burghers refused to receive the princess and her son. There were many followers of the Prince de Condé in Bordeaux who said they only asked security for the princess, and a refuge from the violence of the cardinal. They persisted in saying that the people of Bordeaux could not refuse this succour to the wife and son of a prince who was imprisoned because he had supported their interests in the king's council. With this humble moderation they warmed people's minds and won over several persons. But many others opposed their entreaties and preferred, with reason, peace and their duty to war and the crime of *lèse-majesté*.

All these contradictory feelings made so great a stir in the town that at last it was resolved in parliament that the princess and the Duc d'Enghien should be received in Bordeaux, but with their servants only ; and the Ducs de Bouillon and de La Rochefoucauld were at first denied the same favour. The princess went to the parliament and asked on her knees for the safety of herself and the Duc d'Enghien, which, after long deliberation, was granted to her. The leaders of the party, whom the parliament would not receive, were not surprised. They lodged themselves in the suburbs of the town, and received the visits of those who favoured them and negotiated for them.

Lenet, a follower of the Prince de Condé, had entered the city with the princess. He worked hard for her, and persuaded some of the most determined lovers of the public good that it was just to assist the prince. As he was eloquent and bold, he found means to increase the number of the faithless subjects of the king by weakening the good sense of the wisest. These favourable results made the Ducs de Bouillon and La Rochefoucauld resolve to risk the mortification of refusal. They asked to be permitted to visit the Princesse de Condé once, under pretext of attending to her business. Then, having obtained that permission, they stayed one night very late, and, seeing that the people bore their presence patiently, they stayed on. Each of them presented a petition to parliament imploring its protection for six weeks, promising, during that time, to justify themselves to the king.

They had brought a few troops, who remained in the environs of Bordeaux, rather ill-provided. They dared not at first talk of war. The proposition was too delicate, and it was necessary to win the Bordeaux people to their side by the promise of great things to happen. They judged that

they must merely make ready and apply themselves as able men should who are resolved on defence. Besides which, they needed money, for private persons cannot alone supply subsistence for a party against a king.

The Duc de Bouillon sent a gentleman of his own, named De Bas, a man of intelligence, to induce the Catholic King to pay their troops and use their rebellion to lessen the forces of the king to their mutual advantage. The King of Spain received De Bas joyfully, liking the proposition. The Spanish minister treated him well, as he did De Marolles, a gentleman attached to the Prince de Condé, who had gone there with the same intention. They promised them all they asked, money, vessels, and troops. The hope of this succour confirmed the people of Bordeaux in their willingness to support the cause of the princes, and made them resolve to avenge themselves on the Duc d'Épernon by making war upon the king. They declared it immediately, received the Duc d'Enghien as generalissimo, the Ducs de Bouillon and La Rochefoucauld as generals; and for lieutenant-generals the Marquis de Sauvebœuf and De Lusignan.

This great party now beginning to feel its strength, the generals thought it well to send a second embassy to Spain more important than the first, in order to hasten the succour that they hoped for. The Marquis de Sillery was despatched; and negotiated the matter with such success that Don Joseph Ozorio was sent to Bordeaux on behalf of the King of Spain to visit the Princesse de Condé and the young Duc d'Enghien, and to bear to them all the needed consolations to relieve their anxieties. The King of Spain thought it advantageous to himself to embarrass the king in Guienne and elsewhere, favouring Madame de Longueville at Stenay, and the Princesse de Condé and her son at Bordeaux.

The Duc de La Rochefoucauld, strongly concerned for the

interests of Madame de Longueville, sent Gourville to inform her of these favourable successes ; and being well-posted by him in all their designs she neglected nothing to make the queen and all Europe see that if her heart, following the temper of her rather too passionate soul, had shown some signs of weakness, that same heart had all the strength and elevation that an illustrious blood could inspire in it. If the source of her actions was not always perfectly pure, it cannot be denied that there was always grandeur in them ; and if they were partly criminal it was at least a crime of *lèse-majesté* only, which in those days was thought honourable. The Duc de La Rochefoucauld, whom she saw sword in hand for the cause of her husband and brothers, gave her reason to attribute the consideration in which she held him to the use he was to them, and to employ his services to the utmost as reparation for the ills they were enduring for having followed her advice. Her ambition fed itself on the applause of the peoples who enlisted on her side, and was gratified by the praises that foreigners bestowed upon her beauty, her intellect, her courage, and all the other fine qualities which hitherto had attracted to her the admiration of all France.

Meantime Gourville was seized on his journey by the king's troops. But as, under an appearance of coarseness and simplicity, he hid much intelligence, slyness, and ability, he disguised himself so cleverly that Madame de Longueville was able to release him with an ordinary ransom before the Court was aware of who he was. He was born for great things ; eager for employments ; open to the pleasure of pleasing and of doing well. He had much courage and a genius for intrigue ; he could walk as easily through tortuous and miry ways as along straight ones. He persuaded others nearly always of what he wished them to believe, and

usually found means to succeed in whatever he undertook. He was at this time the confidant and servant of the Duc de La Rochefoucauld, who always appeared to be warmly attached to Madame de Longueville; although some who claimed to judge shrewdly and to know him best, were convinced that he thought only of the grandeur of her he appeared to love, and that he had more ambition than tenderness.

While all these things were happening in the provinces and elsewhere the superintendent of finances, d'Émery, died in Paris, without having obtained any advantage from his return except that which he might already have gained through a knowledge of the fragility of this world's happiness. But as he had never desired heaven he left this earth with regret and, apparently, with little preparation for the establishment of his eternal happiness. Before he died, the Marquis de Senneterre induced him to advise the minister to put President de Maisons in his place making him superintendent in his stead. The cardinal going to see him, he spoke to him of this, and said that he saw no man in France more capable of serving the king well; and these words made much impression on the minister's mind. What seemed to proceed from disinterested recognition of the truth, really proceeded in Senneterre from the desire to have a superintendent who owed him obligations, and to oblige a lady who had asked him to serve President de Maisons.

The day after d'Émery's death De Maisons was appointed superintendent of finances. The Marquise de Sablé was my friend; she had drawn me into the interests of this president, and I may say that I had some share in the choice made of him. But I had none in the advantages he gained, he having only lent me twenty thousand francs, which I afterwards repaid him. He did not remain long in office;

and it is true that, the times being difficult, all that he could put to profit in his place he kept for himself; which made people say that he had done well. He secretly bought friends whom he thought he needed. The different cabals at Court, which was full of factions, alarmed him and made him forget those who had served him and of whom he felt sure.

As soon as this president was master of the finances the Comte d'Avaux, who until then had seemed to occupy that position, resigned, not being willing to be second. The Swiss Guards mutinied soon after for want of payment, and as the coffers of the king were empty, it was necessary, in order to keep them from going back to their cantons, that the queen should put the rest of her jewels in pawn to satisfy them.

The Duc de Saint-Simon,¹ Governor of Blaye, was invited by Madame de Longueville to unite himself to her party. As the place he commanded was of great consequence and close to Bordeaux, the side that he might take was of much importance either for the service of the king or to fortify his enemies. He hesitated some time between the attachment he had to the Prince de Condé, joined to the hatred he felt for Cardinal Mazarin, and his duty to the king, whose father had made him duke with the great establishments he had given him. His mind had great pain in determining to do harm to the Prince de Condé; but duty won the day over all, and he remained firmly in the service of the king, and did what a man of honour owes to himself. He told me afterwards that he refused eight hundred thousand francs which the King of Spain had sent to offer to him, and that he refused them with satisfaction, believing that he did what he was bound to do. About the same time the enemy appeared on the frontier with a powerful army commanded

¹ Father of the author of the Memoirs.

by the archduke, whom the Vicomte de Turenne had now joined.

The queen, wishing to go to the defence of the provinces and the frontiers against the insults of those who were threatening to attack them, started for Compiègne June 2d, intending to oppose this great army which came to brave her own, which was then very small. She might have feared to see, almost with her own eyes, the victories of her enemies; but if she lacked soldiers she did not lack courage. While our troops were assembling, the army of the archduke besieged Catelet. The cardinal went himself to our army and soon put it in a state to make itself feared.

In Paris, where desires were lawless and the enemies of the minister full of evil intentions, and where all minds were disaffected, there was much rejoicing over the bad state of our affairs. The people shouted gaily against the cardinal, and their joy was increased by news of the matters I have already told of as happening in Bordeaux in favour of the Princesse de Condé and her son. Even those who, as good Frenchmen, saw with regret the prosperity of the party opposed to that of the king, were not always sorry for it, because each hoped in the general disorder to find moments of luck for himself, as many others had before him. They afterwards had reason to be satisfied.

Catelet, not being fortified, was taken by the enemy.¹ Vandi, who commanded the place, defended it valiantly, and killed two men with his own hand when they proposed to him to surrender. This act, according to the terrible axioms of war, was greatly lauded by men, but I do not know whether the angels approved of it. At last, in spite of his

¹ The Maréchal de Turenne, says Montglat, assembled the scattered remains of the prince's regiment, and making a little corps of them joined the archduke, whom he accompanied at the taking of Catelet. — FR. ED.

resistance, he was seized by his own garrison, who bound him, and then as the result of their mutiny made terms of capitulation with the enemy.

The archduke, wishing to profit by our confusion, at once laid siege to Guise. The Comte de Fuensaldagna with twenty thousand men surrounded the place by orders of the prince. The Vicomte de Turenne was with him with all his troops. Bridieu, the governor of Guise, resolved to defend himself; he had in the town the regiment of Guise, that of Persan, three hundred of the Swiss Guards, and a few Poles; but he had very few munitions of war. The cardinal, knowing the town was not in a good state, got word to those within it that he intended to relieve them, and this hope increased their desire to acquire glory by a generous resistance.

The Maréchal Du Plessis, governor of Monsieur the king's brother, commanded our army. But the disorder in our finances caused a lack of money, and consequently the troops were not in a condition to do anything.

The minister made several trips to the frontier; knowing that Bordeaux, from the events that were happening there, stood in need of the presence of the king he applied himself more vigorously to the relief of Guise. He carried money, clothing, and shoes for the soldiers, and neglected nothing that could overthrow the enemies of the State and his own. He knew that if the king's affairs went ill, his would go worse, and that both parties, that of the princes and that of the *frondeurs*, would profit to his injury by every blow that France received from Spain. He succeeded in his object, and the enemy, after assaulting the town and making themselves masters of it, were constrained to raise the siege; for they could not get provisions, as the garrison of La Capelle hindered them from passing, and Bridieu and his men defended themselves valiantly in the castle.

The *frondeurs*, however, seeing that the cause of the Prince de Condé was doing well, and fearing that the minister, to save himself from their ill-will and from the evils which the faction of the prisoners could bring upon him, might be induced to set them at liberty, were alarmed lest so grievous a return should throw them back into the position from which they had just emerged. This fear urged them to work powerfully on the Duc d'Orléans in order to change his feelings towards the cardinal; telling him continually that, he being a party to the imprisonment of the Prince de Condé, the latter must not now be released in spite of him; that it was not right to leave the minister sole master of the princes' liberty; and advising him to request the queen to put them in the Bastille instead of Vincennes, because they would there be more under the authority of the king, and the minister would lose the power of disposing of them to his own advantage without the participation of the duke.

These propositions had power to persuade the Duc d'Orléans, and to make him desire to follow this advice, which seemed to him altogether in accordance with his own interests. He grumbled; he was uneasy and out of temper; but the queen did her best to quiet the storm. He went to see her at Compiègne; and as she had always had an ascendancy over his mind, she employed all the force of her arguments and her agreeable manners to prove to him that he ought not to let himself yield to the pernicious advice of those who only wanted to brew trouble between them. She assured him again that the princes should not be set at liberty without his consent; and, telling him of her intention to go to Guienne to exterminate the princes' party, she said that as he would be left master of Paris and all that part of France beyond the Loire, he could have no cause to fear that

so important a thing could be done without her letting him know of it. She knew so well how to manage his mind that she dulled for a time the angry agitations of his spirit, and made him resolve to say no more on this subject.

The queen, however, did not fail to see that there was reason to fear that the mind of the prince, which had thus begun to swerve from the right path, might become more corrupted still. This anxiety made her send for the cardinal, who was at the frontier; and she even commanded the messenger she despatched to waken him at whatever hour he arrived and make him start at once to return to her. The minister, following these orders, came at once, and the whole Court returned to Paris June 29. Its presence checked for a few days the factions of the *frondeurs*; and the Duc d'Orléans, whose mind turned readily to quietude, embraced the cardinal cordially and seemed quite satisfied with him. But this calm was like that of the sea which changes with the wind from one moment to another.

The *frondeurs* saw with regret that the enemy had abandoned the siege of Guise. They had seen Normandy and Champagne humbling themselves before the king, and, whatever hatred they had to the princes, they did not wish Bordeaux to be punished. They desired, as usual, in preference to all other things, the weakening of royalty; they wished the affairs of the king to go ill and the minister to be always harassed. They did not approve of the queen's intention to go to Guienne, and they sustained in parliament those whom the parliament of Bordeaux sent to Paris to complain of the Duc d'Épernon.

The minister, seeing the malignant variety of their thoughts, proposed to the Duc d'Orléans to go to Guienne and subdue the rebels with forces sufficient for that purpose. The Duc d'Orléans would not listen to the proposal. For,

besides liking to live in Paris, his friends the *frondeurs*, who liked it still better, were constantly working upon him to inspire him with their own sentiments. He refused to go to Guienne, and he resolved (as appeared later) not to allow the Bordeaux people to be crushed.

The queen, advised by herself and by her minister, now judged that she ought to take the king to Bordeaux; and that it was necessary, in the present state of affairs, to weaken one party in order to destroy the other. This resolution taken, the Court, a few days after its return from Compiègne, started on this great journey. It was not without anxiety that the queen did so, in view of the ill-will of the *frondeurs*, and of the enemy's army on the frontier, commanded by men who desired to do her much harm. The minister had confidence in the valour and behaviour of the Maréchal Du Plessis. But he knew that he gave him no money, that he had many enemies on his hands, and that there was every reason to fear on all sides grievous results. Nevertheless, it was necessary to go to the place of greatest urgency, and leave the rest to God.

During the time that the Court was in Paris, the Prince de Condé, knowing the minister's disgust for the *frondeurs*, sent him word by De Bar, who guarded him, that if he would set him at liberty he would be more strongly his friend than ever before; that he would find more safety with him than with those he had been trying to make use of; that he himself was capable of forgetting his imprisonment, and would maintain the minister with more vigour and firmness than those he had now chosen for his friends. But the cardinal, remembering the prince's arrogance, dared not confide in these fine words, and judged it wiser to keep this enemy in prison than to increase his present number by one who counted for a thousand. As he had brought him down,

the most powerful of all, he hoped he might vanquish the others by patience and wiliness.

Before departing, he had the additional annoyance of being compelled by the *frondeurs* to appoint as provost of the merchants a man named Le Fèvre. This, in the present state of things, was not a matter of little consequence. It was easy to see by this insistence that they meant to be masters in parliament, not merely by the power of the Duc d'Orléans, but by their own. It appeared also that the Duc de Beaufort, after obtaining the survivance of the Admiralty, wanted to resume his position in the good graces of the people by saying everywhere, as he did, that he was ill-satisfied with the minister.

All these *frondeur* perfidies did not prevent the queen from going to Guienne. She went where necessity called her; and having remained in Paris only four or five days she started, July 4, for Fontainebleau, where she rested for a time. The Duc d'Orléans, Châteauneuf, Keeper of the Seals, and the whole Fronde were left in Paris; and of all the persons faithful to the king, Le Tellier alone, secretary of State, remained to attend to the king's service and the private interests of the minister. This he did faithfully, and with the skilful and singular prudence which was natural to him.¹

The Ducs de Bouillon and de La Rochefoucauld, knowing that the queen's intention to go to Guienne would give them a great deal of trouble, stirred the parliament of Bordeaux more and more in their revolt and consequently in the interests of the princes. To embroil matters still further, they induced that parliament to send a celebrated deputation to the parliament of Paris; which arrived after the queen had left the city.

¹ This Le Tellier (Michel) was the father of Louvois. — TR.

These deputies presented themselves before parliament on the 6th of July. Their leader, Voisin, made a long harangue, asking protection against infractions by the Duc d'Épernon of the peace which had been obtained from the king through the intervention of the parliament of Paris; he greatly exaggerated the violences of the said duke, justified the parliament of Bordeaux for what it had done in favour of the Princesse de Condé, and protested its fidelity to the king. He conjured the parliament of Paris not to abandon them, and showed of what consequence to their Assembly, to themselves, and to all Frenchmen was the observance of the privileges granted to prisoners of State by the declaration of the king given at Saint-Germain on the 29th of October. And for this purpose he entreated the parliament of Paris very humbly to join with that of Bordeaux in demanding of the king and queen the liberty of the princes, which all right-minded persons must desire.

The Duc d'Orléans, who was present and who did not choose to let the thing go farther, said aloud that these deputies must neither be heard nor answered, inasmuch as they came from a rebellious parliament which had publicly negotiated with Spain. Voisin replied boldly that it was not true that the parliament of Bordeaux had negotiated with the enemy; that it was faithful to the king, exempt from such blame, and in no way capable of failing in fidelity to what it owed to his Majesty: but that, even were it otherwise, it would only have followed the example of the highest in the land, who in time of need had done as much; meaning, perhaps, the Duc d'Orléans himself and certain persons in this very parliament to whom his harangue was addressed. The advocate-general, speaking of the imprisonment of the Prince de Condé, declared that the affair was a State secret, and that it did not belong to subjects to order or dispose of such matters.

The question was deliberated. Several of the parliament were attached to the Prince de Condé, and their warmth was visibly increased in his favour. Some one exclaimed very eloquently that it was shameful for the parliament of Paris to need the remonstrances of that of Bordeaux before it thought of the liberty of a prince whom Paris above all other cities ought to honour. He said they had all felt the effects of his valour, he having secured their peace and their lives by his vigilance, and by the noble deeds which he had done. Another said they ought to come to the source of these evils; the cardinal should be driven out, and the decree against him, already pronounced by parliament, should be enforced. On this, many called out that it was well said. The outcry was stopped by the hour striking at which the Assembly closed, and the result was adjourned to the morrow.

July 7, the discussion was concluded. Seventy members were in favour of going to the queen to make remonstrances for the liberty of the princes; and some others demanded the release of the Prince de Conti only, on account of his feeble health. The chief-president, in spite of his warmth for the princes' cause, was of opinion that though it was right to demand the liberty of all, it would be best to wait until matters were in such a state that on their release peace might at once be firmly established in France.

This opinion was shared by several. But finally that of Broussel prevailed, which was, to send deputies to the queen to make her very humble representations on the complaints and requests of the parliament of Bordeaux, without explaining or particularizing the principal point about the princes; thus leaving a certain liberty to the deputies to treat the Court gently, and to accommodate themselves to the wishes of the minister. This was done expressly to favour

the *frondeurs*, who, in the matter of the princes' imprisonment were one with the cardinal. President Bailleul was appointed leader of the deputation, an honourable man, and much indebted to the queen for benefits received from her; consequently he could only say to her such things as were in keeping with his duty.

The Duc d'Orléans, to prevent the parliament from binding itself too strongly to favour the release of the princes, under pretext of satisfying the parliament of Bordeaux, promised before the whole Assembly to have the Duc d'Épernon recalled, and assured them that he should never return to his government. He gave this promise without the consent of the Court, and the minister was displeased by it, because he favoured the Duc d'Épernon. Not that he approved of his haughty and arrogant manner of acting, which was always blamed by those who knew him, but because he intended to marry one of his nieces, Mademoiselle de Martinuzzi, to the Duc de Candale. The defects of the father were excused by the fine qualities of the son, who, in addition to his personal merit, had great establishments pleasing to him who wished to make a nephew of him.

The cardinal, hearing what the Duc d'Orléans had promised the Bordeaux people against the Duc d'Épernon, also heard that he had said openly, speaking of the cardinal himself, that he would have him dismissed if he did not recall that duke. The minister, wisely overlooking the threat, in order to give the Duc d'Orléans no cause of complaint against him, and no pretext to Guienne to revolt, sent for the Duc d'Épernon to come to Court; and in case he should resist, he sent Roquelaure to tell him it was in earnest that he desired to have him near the king. But he let him know his will with all the mildness needed to soothe that haughty soul, and they were on as good terms as before.

While these things were taking place, the king was continuing his journey and approaching Bordeaux as nearly as he could. The wisest men in the town advised the others to obey the king. Some of them spoke strongly in public meetings against the rebellion, and on what was due to his Majesty. Many of the Bordeaux parliament, who wished to avoid the evils of war, did their best to induce their associates to detach themselves from the interests of the Prince de Condé, and to send from their town at least the Ducs de Bouillon and de La Rochefoucauld. But the Princesse de Condé, advised by those two generals (the only columns that supported her side), went before the parliament, and favoured by the people, who always choose what is most against them, was able so strongly to renew through pity their feelings of affection to the Prince de Condé that it was then and there resolved that the union of the princes and parliament existed; and they prepared to continue the contest; declaring, nevertheless, as rebels are wont to do, that they were loyal servants to the king. They did not send deputies to their Majesties, but they sent Voisin, then in Paris, to Guyonnet, their regular deputy, requesting him to inform the parliament of Paris of their resolve and to ask for its protection. They assured the Princesse de Condé, the Duc d'Enghien, their followers and friends, that they could live in peace under the royal authority and that of their Assembly.

The queen sent from Poitiers an express to Bordeaux with letters from the king to the said parliament, and other letters to the secretary of State to let them know of the coming of the king and queen, in order that they might send a deputation of welcome to their Majesties, according to custom and their duty.

The Bordeaux parliament resolved not to send a deputa-

tion, but to make very humble representations in writing. And in order to make known that they would not abandon the interests of the princes, they said they were ready to open their gates to the king, as good and faithful subjects of his Majesty, but that they would not admit Mazarin, who was their chief enemy; he having always protected the injustices practised against them by the Duc d'Épernon, they could have no confidence in him. After making these declarations, they thought it proper, in order to say that they were not rebels to the king, to send away the Spaniard, Don Ozorio, to at least hide him from the eyes of his true master.

The minister was not astonished by this boldness. But knowing how difficult it would be to undertake the punishment of a province supported by the King of Spain and so many able men, he wished, in accordance with his usual custom, to manage the affair by negotiation. He made a man named La Vie write to one named Mirat, a counsellor of the Bordeaux parliament, and give him a rendezvous at which to confer together on whatever propositions the parliament might make. The cardinal held out the hope that on condition of their obedience he would set the princes at liberty. They listened, and they replied. But as the parliament and the Ducs de Bouillon and de La Rochefoucauld, who were told of this negotiation, did not find security enough in these soft words, they had no other effect than useless diversion.

The Court having arrived at Libourne, the parliament then, being unable to avoid rendering to their Majesties the proper marks of respect, sent a deputation of several counsellors and one president. The president said fine words to the king and queen which signified nothing; and the answer was gentle, — capable of inviting them to some repentance.

The Comte Du Dognon, the king's lieutenant in the gov-

ernment of La Rochelle, the islands of Ré and d'Oléron, and Brouage, had, since the death of the Duc de Brézé, his master, remained at that post on his own authority. The king commanded him to come to him. He excused himself on his infirmities and did not go to Court. The minister then saw clearly that there was much to be feared on this side also. But as he knew the evil was without remedy, he pretended to accept the excuse, judging that the desire for a duchy or a marshal's baton might be the cause of the disobedience, and that with one or other of those advantages Du Dognon would be content. He therefore entered into a negotiation with him, and the rebel soon let him know he would not be so cruel to himself as to refuse the offered favours.

The Spaniards, wishing to repair their past losses by means of the present bad state of our affairs, besieged and took, in Italy, Porto Longone and Piombino, two places which had cost us much money and trouble. They won on all sides. They besieged La Capelle, and took it easily, because Maréchal Du Plessis had received no assistance after the departure of the Court. His army, not being paid, only served him to maintain the more important places. After seeing, in spite of himself, the loss of La Capelle, at which the archduke was present, he retired towards Reims, in order to save Champagne. The Vicomte de Turenne, assisted by the forces of the King of Spain, besieged Rethel, and in two days made himself master of the place.

Guyonnet, deputy from the parliament of Bordeaux, after receiving the orders of his Assembly, as I have already said, from Voisin, demanded audience of the parliament of Paris. The Duc d'Orléans delayed it for several days, but at last, the Chambers having assembled, it was granted to him, August 6. The Duc d'Orléans, anxious to check the buzz

that seemed arising in his favour proposed to parliament the positive recall of the Duc d'Épernon, which he had already promised, the establishment of another governor in his stead, security for the Princesse de Condé and the Duc d'Enghien, general amnesty for every one in Bordeaux, and the royal pardon for all those of the prince's party who asked for it and returned to their duty.

Thereupon there was a great contest between the followers of the Duc d'Orléans and those of the princes as to the acceptance of the duke's proposals, which seemed just to right-minded men, and which pleased the *frondeurs*, but were hard for the party of the princes, because they foretold the pacification of Bordeaux and the quiet continuation of their imprisonment. This, of course, was, in every respect, opposed to the wishes of the princes' friends. At their request it was resolved to deliberate the matter, and the discussion was postponed until the 8th of August.

On that day several opinions were broached. Broussel, the coadjutor, and many other *frondeurs* were in favour of accepting the Duc d'Orléans' propositions. Des Landes-Payen opened the question of setting the princes at liberty, mingling with his remarks a few words against the cardinal. President Viole enlarged at great length and openly concluded that the minister must be sent away. Then, explaining himself more precisely, he said he did not think him ill-intentioned, because the great benefits he received from France obliged him to serve her with all his powers; but he ought to be sent away either as an ignorant man or an unlucky one. Coclé, a worthy representative of no faction, broached another opinion, namely: to make appeals to the king to set the princes at liberty as soon as the better state of France permitted it and those who had taken up arms in their behalf should have laid them down. He

added that the Duc d'Orléans ought to be entreated to be the mediator. Other counsellors proposed most ridiculous things; but it is not just, for the honour of this great Assembly, to record them. As the followers of the princes had learned something by the example of the *frondeurs*, they shouted all that day around the Palais de Justice, "No Mazarin!" They meant, by alarming the minister, to force him to agree with them and open the prison doors.

When the Duc d'Orléans wished to leave the Palais, he was hampered by the crowd of shouters, who cried out also against the Duc de Beaufort, calling him a mazarin; which made the Fronde aware that, in like manner as they had assailed the minister, the princes would assail them in turn, and that they ought to be prepared to defend themselves.

These favourable dispositions thus shown towards the princes made the minds of their enemies more inclined to unite with them. The efforts of the princess-palatine began to produce great effects. She negotiated with all, more particularly with Madame de Chevreuse, who was the one who showed most disposition to listen to the proposals made to her, and it is certain that an alliance with the Bourbon blood was not displeasing to her. But all these schemes had not yet reached maturity. The coadjutor resisted more obstinately than the others, and the Duc d'Orléans was as yet entirely aloof from them.

On the 9th, President de Thoré, son of the late superintendent d'Émery, renewed the discussion. As he was not altogether wise, his opinion was half against the cardinal, and half in favour of the princes. Many were of opinion that something should be added to the propositions of the Duc d'Orléans. The following are the chief points they specified: that the Ducs de Bouillon and de La Rochefoucauld, and those who had been forced to have recourse to foreign reme-

dies, should be named as included in the amnesty; that the Vicomte de Turenne should be allowed to return to France; that the rasing of Vertueil, the mansion of the Duc de La Rochefoucauld, should be given up; that in revoking the government of the Duc d'Épernon, the same should involve the exclusion of the Duc de Candale, his son, and the Chevalier de La Valette, his bastard brother; that all acts of hostility should be suspended, but that parliament should continue to assemble until the entire execution of the peace of Bordeaux; that the Duc d'Orléans should give assurance that the citadel of La Trompette should not be restored; and that the submission made by the people of Bordeaux to the king should not involve their being forced, against their will, to receive the cardinal.

Others were of opinion that the liberty of the princes should be insisted on, and that three members of the parliament should be deputed to treat with them at Vincennes, on account of the future evils that might arise, and obtain from the said princes security for the peace of the kingdom. Several others openly declared that remonstrances should be made to the queen against Cardinal Mazarin, saying that he was the cause of all these evils, and that the reconciliation of the royal family could never take place so long as he was at the Court. They uttered all sorts of imprecations against him, in language that showed their contempt and hatred.

The Duc d'Orléans interrupted them several times, saying that the question then concerned only the peace of Bordeaux, and that the members of that parliament had not spoken positively in their letter of either the princes or the cardinal; that their sole request was to be delivered from the Duc d'Épernon, and that if they now made new propositions he would withdraw his promise as to that, and have nothing more to do with the affair.

him, more closely than we have ever yet been. Nevertheless, let us each put ourselves in a state to fulfil his holy will without reserve, otherwise our sacrifice will not be agreeable to him. After that, let us await from his goodness and mercy whatever he may order for our benefit and his greatest glory.

“I should have executed my intention before now if I could sooner have torn myself away from you; and I think I could never have done so had not God given me extraordinary strength for it, and forced it upon me by putting me in a position through which I am unable to stay in the world without enduring strange troubles, principally since the affair of Mademoiselle de Bui, which made you divine my own. On that occasion you showed me such kindness and tenderness in what to me was so hard a trial, that you almost killed me by it. I conjure you, if you would have me live, console yourself for our present separation, and acquiesce in the will of our Father and sovereign master. I promise you that I will keep the word I gave you; and moreover I will bind myself to do nothing without your permission. Do not come to see me too soon, for I own I have not yet the strength for that trial; if I had not fled from you I should never have conquered in that combat of which God must remain the master.”

The queen answered the deputation from Bordeaux in writing. She let them know that the king was good enough to pardon them and grant them the amnesty they needed to efface the crime of their rebellion; but that he wished to know, before treating with them of any matter, whether they would receive the king as their master, with the dignity and security due to his person, or whether they intended to maintain against him the Ducs de Bouillon and de La Rochefoucauld, declared guilty of *lèse-majesté* by both par-

liaments. The deputies replied that they had no power to answer these points, but they would report them to their parliament and return a reply.

The minister, to continue to show to the people of Bordeaux and those who supported them their duty, sent some troops commanded by the Maréchal de La Meilleraye to besiege the little fort of Voies, which was taken immediately; and to alarm Bordeaux, he ordered the commandant of the fort to be hanged; proving to them by that severity that they had everything to fear, and that it was dangerous to fail in fidelity to the king.

The Duc de Bouillon, master of Bordeaux and of the populace, hearing of this execution, stirred them up to vengeance. Without delaying a moment he sent for a captain of the Navailles regiment who had been taken prisoner on some other occasion. They found him playing cards with ladies, and wholly without fear. The duke ordered him to be taken and hanged instantly by way of reprisals, and his body fastened on the walls of the city. This action was praised by those who hold that it does not do to be a tyrant by halves, and that great men cannot sustain high enterprises if they are not capable of great crimes as well as great virtues, the former being often necessary to maintain the latter. But those who judge by the law of the Gospel, as their name of Christian obliges them to do, have a horror of such principles. The queen did me the honour to tell me that she was keenly distressed by this affair. I know from Langlade, who was with the duke at the time, that the latter was troubled. He knew the wrong he was committing, but he let himself be guided by policy, which forced him to follow the cruel customs of war. His friends said of him that he was kind by nature, and that what had made him capable of this barbarity did not prevent his having in his temperament

both gentleness and kindheartedness. He was most unfortunate in having thought that crime could under any circumstances be excused.

By order of the queen the war was continued with ardour. The Maréchal de La Meilleraye attacked the Île Saint-Georges, where the city had troops, making it their encampment. After a few rounds of cannonading, they surrendered upon terms. The soldiers, to the number of three hundred, took service with the king. Seventy officers made oath not to serve against the king, and were treated humanely to shame the inhumanity of the Duc de Bouillon.

The deputies of Bordeaux did not return to bring an answer to the king as they had promised. The Duc de Bouillon prevented them from keeping their word. His intention was to push the rebellion as far as possible, as much to obtain the liberty of the princes as to gather certain great advantages for himself. The discussion which had just taken place in the parliament of Paris and the propositions of the Duc d'Orléans were very embarrassing. No mention being made of the Prince de Condé, nothing was gained except pardon and security for himself and the Duc de La Rochefoucauld. But they both rejected this so ably that their conduct in resisting was respected by both sides, and the princes had reason to congratulate themselves on the services and fidelity of the two men.

As I did not follow the queen on this journey, and as I do not like to describe what I do not know perfectly, perhaps I have omitted many particulars which are inseparable from great events. I can say, however, with truth, as to the things my eyes did not witness, that I relate them on the actual word of the actors, and on what the queen herself did me the honour to tell me.

X.

1650 — 1651.

ABOUT this time, when the queen was engaged in conquering the Bordeaux people, the Duchesse d'Orléans gave birth to a son, an event of great joy to the duke. The populace expressed theirs by bonfires in the streets and by every mark of public gaiety and rejoicing; but the child did not live: his birth was followed by rapid death.

The Spanish army was on our frontier, powerful and full of fine hopes conceived from its own strength and our weakness. It advanced toward Reims; but that town was protected by the presence of Maréchal Du Plessis, who took all necessary precautions to hinder the progress of the Spaniards. The archduke occupied Neufchâtel, Pontaverre, and Bazoches, where he intended to remain some days. The Marquis d'Hocquincourt, who had the boldness to attack a few troops of the enemy, was defeated and driven back to Soissons, where he came near being taken prisoner. Other troops of the army of the Vicomte de Turenne, commanded by Bouteville, came boldly within ten leagues of Paris to fight us, but still more to frighten us.

Bouteville succeeded in this design. The peasants and all the nobles of Picardy who rushed to save themselves in Paris caused a strange tumult. The city was so full of factions that great and small felt more joy than grief in seeing the archduke so near us. Each man was more concerned to make this disorder serve his own ends than to oppose the enemy. The Duc d'Orléans, seeing that the Vicomte de

Turenne with his troops might reach Vincennes and carry off the Prince de Condé, became uneasy. The *frondeurs* used this alarm to urge him to put the prince in the Bastille by his own authority. He spoke of it to Le Tellier, secretary of State, who opposed such action vigorously; and after much consultation and many bad hours caused to one and another by this proposal, it was decided to remove the princes from Vincennes and take them to Marcoussis under a good guard, beyond the rivers of the Seine and Marne, while awaiting the queen's will in the matter.

The Duchesse d'Orléans advised the duke to set the Prince de Condé at liberty and to marry his son, the Duc d'Enghien, to one of their daughters. He did not then approve of the proposal, though it was a sensible one as regarded himself. He was not in the humour to resolve so quickly; he had to wait some time, until the advice of those who now led him forced him to think of it. The *frondeurs* only talked to him as yet of making himself master of the prisoners in order to dispose of them as he pleased. Nevertheless, they were beginning to hold out soft hopes to the Prince de Condé's party, and even assured it that as soon as the Duc d'Orléans had him in his power he would set him at liberty. But the prince's friends dared not trust these promises, and would much have preferred to treat with the minister. The coadjutor above all was odious to them, because he had at times made it plain that he did not like the Prince de Condé, and was incapable of continuing in a state of moderation and wisdom.

Amid this universal disturbance a missive arrived by flag of truce from the archduke, ostensibly sent to the Duc d'Orléans, but calling itself addressed to all good Frenchmen. This German prince assured the duke that he desired peace, and offered to negotiate it with him, making him hope for

that blessing on reasonable terms. The news gave excitement and joy to the Parisians. They believed that the foreigners had become their friends in good faith, and did not see the deception. The Duc d'Orléans, as much deceived as the rest, and intoxicated with the glory he expected to obtain in giving peace to France, replied to the archduke in terms of great civility, and despatched a gentleman to assure him that he was ready to confer with him. He also sent to the Court to inform the queen and the minister of the proposals of the archduke, and asked for powers to treat with him.

The minister knew of what value the affair was, and from what quarter the intrigue came. He believed that Madame de Longueville and the Vicomte de Turenne had made the archduke take this step in order to load him, the minister, more and more with public hatred and stir all Paris against him. Doubtless he was not pleased with the Duc d'Orléans for listening to the proposals. But in order not to give the duke a subject of complaint and the Parisians a chance to make an outcry, he sent him the necessary powers. Comte d'Avaux took part in the affair. He went with the nuncio to Soissons to confer with Spanish deputies, but they were not there.

There came to Paris soon after, a certain Gabriel de Toledo, who lodged for a long time at Issy. He gave hopes, on the part of the archduke, of great things. The people, who already liked the Austrian prince on these slender grounds, were continually blessing him in the streets. The Vicomte de Turenne wrote to the people of Paris, or else the friends of the prince wrote for him, assuring them of all they desired. This document was posted up in the open squares of the city, together with placards in which Mazarin was vilified and the archduke praised as the man who, being able to

destroy everything, nevertheless desired to bring back peace and rest to the State. But these illusions vanished at last, and nothing remained of them but the shame of those who had received them as truths.

The queen meantime was occupied with the cares placed upon her by the siege of Bordeaux. Though the proposals which the Duc d'Orléans had made to the parliament of Paris were not altogether agreeable to the minister, he judged that he could use them to oblige the Bordeaux people to ask no more of the king than those proposals granted. He saw plainly enough that parliament had encroached on the authority of the king, and that the Duc d'Orléans, in spite of his good intentions, had let it take too much advantage of the occasion. Nevertheless he received all that came from him respectfully and appeared to wish to follow his sentiments. But he resolved, by attacking Bordeaux, to put himself in a position to take no man's counsel but his own.

The Maréchal de La Meilleraye now closed in upon the city. He gave the command of the attack by the suburb of Saint-Severin to the Marquis de Roquelaure and the Marquis de Saint-Mesgrin. Those two brave men advanced with such energy that when the Maréchal de La Meilleraye thought best to change his orders they could no longer obey him. The fight was rough on both sides. On that of the besieged the two generals (the Ducs de Bouillon and de La Rochefoucauld) were seen everywhere in support of their troops. The royalists attacked valiantly; the rebels defended themselves as bravely. The Comte de Palluau was repulsed from a demi-lune he tried to carry, and three times the Duc de La Rochefoucauld, assisted by the guards of the Prince de Condé and his own, forced him to quit it. If the duke had not fought against the king his valour would have deserved high praise.

While the minister was making war he thought, as his custom was, of peace. He consented that the Duc de Candale should bring Gourville to Bourg. Many important matters were treated of at this conference. Gourville, a bold man in propositions, equally ready to use a yes or a no according to what it suited him to say or necessity forced him to do, laid before the minister, as he told me afterwards, all possible ways for a settlement. He offered the marriage of the Prince de Conti with Mademoiselle de Martinozzi, the cardinal's niece. He offered also that if the cardinal would set the princes at liberty, the Ducs de Bouillon and de La Rochefoucauld would voluntarily go to prison to answer in their own persons for the good faith and sincerity of the Prince de Condé. He sought all means to satisfy the minister in every way, and neglected nothing that could please him.

The cardinal refused everything; partly because he dared not trust the Prince de Condé by whom he had been so maltreated, and partly because he thought he ought not to break his word to the Duc d'Orléans, to whom he had promised that nothing should be changed on this point without his participation. It was therefore necessary to leave the question of the princes where it was. The Ducs de Bouillon and de La Rochefoucauld, who had amused the people of Bordeaux with the hope of great succour from Spain and a naval army, could no longer deceive them. They were forced to consent to an agreement and to follow the dictates of those who were frightened by the armies of the king.

The Duc d'Orléans sent Du Coudray-Montpensier to the cardinal with two counsellors from the parliament of Paris to invite him to give peace to the rebellious city; they neglected nothing to bring this about on the terms and assurances he had already given. These negotiations, from

one side and the other, having had their effect, peace was granted to Bordeaux (September 29) on the terms of the declaration of the parliament of Paris. A general amnesty was given to all. The Princesse de Condé was permitted to retire with her son to one of her houses in Anjou, or else to Montrond, the number of that garrison having been limited by the king. The Ducs de Bouillon and La Rochefoucauld had security to go to their homes and enjoy their property with all the comforts that follow peace. This declaration of the king was given on the 1st of October.

On the 4th of the same month the Princesse de Condé left Bordeaux with her son the Duc d'Enghien, the Ducs de Bouillon and de La Rochefoucauld, and a great number of persons in her service. She intended to go to Coutras. The Maréchal de La Meilleraye, having met her in her little galley, approached her in his own boat to salute her and pay his respects. She told him that she was about to pass through Bourg for the purpose of attempting all means to see the queen and throw herself at her feet; that she believed she could not do better than address herself to him to obtain this permission, and she begged him to return to Bourg. He accepted the commission, and went at once to tell it to the queen in presence of the Court.

At first the queen seemed surprised, and answered that she could not receive her as she had no house in which to lodge her. The Maréchal de La Meilleraye, full of goodwill, told her that the princess was resolved to pass the night in her galley rather than not see her; but that if it was agreeable to her his wife could lodge her for the night. The queen, not being able to make further excuses, consented, and shortly after the galley of the princess appeared on the river with herself and all her suite. The queen sent to meet her as she landed, to assure her that she was welcome, and

Madame de La Meilleraye went also to escort her to her house.

The minister had gone to a rendezvous he had given the Duc de Bouillon. The queen despatched a messenger to bring him back, and on his return he found the Duc de Bouillon in his apartment. They were long together, and the cardinal then went to the queen, the Princesse de Conti arriving a moment later. She was received by the queen in private, the minister alone being witness of the tears she shed. She threw herself on her knees before the queen, holding the Duc d'Enghien by the hand, and made her compliment with sobs; one of my friends, who wrote me the details, said that her grief embellished her.

This princess¹ had never up to this time been much considered by her family. Her birth, though very noble, was far beneath that of the Prince de Condé, and solid qualities of the mind did not repair that defect. Madame de Longueville, whose merits shone brilliantly everywhere, never esteemed her; and the contempt that the princess, her mother-in-law, showed for her race and for herself, joined to all else, had not a little contributed to make her a nonentity. Nevertheless, she had qualities that were laudable. She spoke intelligently when it pleased her to speak; and in the present war she had seemed most zealous to acquit herself of her duties. She was not ugly; she had fine eyes, a beautiful complexion, and a pretty figure. Without always making herself admired by those who guided her and who were near her, she had at least the advantage of having shared the misfortunes of her husband, which repaired to some degree her misfortune in not having personally deserved by more eminent qualities a brilliant and well-grounded reputation.

¹ Clémence de Mailly-Brézé.

After the princess had paid her respects to the queen the Ducs de Bouillon and de La Rochefoucauld went to sup with the minister, where it is to be believed they did not talk of trifles. After which they returned to their own houses, weary no doubt of their bad fortunes; for it is always a grievous thing for men to make war against their king and master. Though this peace was not concluded altogether to the advantage of the king, nor made with that dignity which befits the re-establishment of the royal authority, it seemed nevertheless convenient to the minister and very useful to the king's service. For this same reason the enemies of the State, perhaps even the *frondeurs*, and above all those who belonged to the party of the princes, were in despair over it.

The king and queen entered Bordeaux, and were not received with the public joy that usually accompanies visits of this nature. The city gave them a very bad collation, and fireworks of little beauty. Mademoiselle, who had accompanied the queen on this journey rather against her will, had a ball; but the most memorable thing that happened was that the queen took cold from the heat. It was she herself who, on her return, related to me all these particulars, telling me that the bad disposition of the minds of the people, rather than the climate, had caused her illness. The vexations she met with in that town were excessive. The corruption of rebellion had impressed on the hearts of great and small in that province a disgust for their true duty which forced the queen in turn to feel a disgust for them.

Cardinal Mazarin was ill-received; the compliments offered on such occasions to a prime minister were not made to him; and the queen felt this as an insult to her person. She stayed but ten days in Bordeaux, and the place did not deserve a longer stay. Her presence was necessary in Paris. She started ill of her cold, which, instead of getting better,

was much increased. On arriving at Poitiers, she fell ill earnest of a slight continued fever; but at the end of ten days, her courage, which never deserted her on great occasions, made her start again on her way to Paris. Reaching Amboise she was compelled to rest there twelve days because her illness and fever increased so much that she was forced to let herself be bled several times.

Madame de Brienne, who had the honour to attend her alone, her other ladies being absent, told me on her return that the queen had suffered the greatest inconveniences during this journey. Her illness did not keep her from being in her carriage from morning till night, as though she had been in perfect health. She was sad, as much because she was not satisfied with the state of affairs as because she suffered from her fever. With all these sufferings she never complained. She bore with patience the games played in her carriage by the king and monsieur, whose youth and childhood impelled them to amuse themselves, and did not seem to be incommoded by them, although she was so, very much. One day when her chamber furniture failed to arrive this great princess, with a violent attack of fever on her and wearied out with the journey, was compelled to wait for hours for her bed in a wretched inn, where, for all furniture there was only one great wooden chair. She sat down in it without murmuring or complaining of her officers, saying Madame de Brienne, who supported her head, "We are often too much at our ease, we people; it is just we should suffer sometimes."

Having arrived at Fontainebleau, she sent for the Duc d'Orléans to come and see her. But the *frondeurs* tried to dissuade him with bad reasons. They wanted to put him out of humour with the minister because of the long conferences the latter had held with the Ducs de Bouillon and

La Rochefoucauld. This pretext gave them apparent reason for decrying the minister to the duke and making him see how important it was not to leave the Prince de Condé to the control of the minister. Fidelity, which had obliged the cardinal to shut his ears to the proposals made him in Bordeaux served him nothing; his enemies, whether he did well or whether he did ill, worked incessantly and in all ways to destroy him. Le Tellier told me then that at the time the princes were conveyed from Vincennes to Marcoussis, the Duc d'Orléans, seeing how strongly his interests obliged him to maintain the share he ought to have in both their liberty and their imprisonment, said to him: "I know very well what I could do about it, but I know also that after this first step I should be compelled to take others, and that I will not do," — meaning that after such an action he should have to embark on a struggle with the queen to make himself regent.

The Duc d'Orléans went to Fontainebleau after publicly complaining of the cardinal, and letting it be seen how little desire he had to see the queen. The king, accompanied by the minister, went out to meet him. At first the duke did not seem dissatisfied. He embraced the cardinal, and after a few little complaints, which were mollified by the explanations of the minister and the kind treatment of the queen, all seemed amicable. They talked together of what was then the most pressing matter, namely: where the princes should be taken. The queen did me the honour to tell me, immediately after her return to Paris, that she had spoken to the Duc d'Orléans of a plan she had to send them to Havre, and that he had not seemed to oppose it, although he had only answered (these are the very words): "Mezo si, mezo no" — "Part yes, part no." On that, orders were sent in haste to Comte d'Harcourt with a goodly

number of troops, to convey the princes at once to Hav and in this the queen was punctually obeyed.

Madame de Chevreuse, being at Fontainebleau, assured the cardinal of the good intentions of the coadjutor, and protested that he wished to be in every way his friend, provided he had him made a cardinal. She gave him much advice against those who were treating with him on behalf of the princes, and seemed to have great desire to unite herself to the interests of the queen. The Keeper of the Seals, Châteauneuf, who during the whole journey had played the part of a good servant of the king, also seemed to wish to ally himself wholly to the minister. He was believed to have even advised him to arrest the Duc de Beaufort and the coadjutor, saying (in spite of the great intimacy he had with them) that those two men would always be dangerous to the peace of the State. But the cardinal dared not confide in him. He had heard strange tales of the *frondeurs* from the followers of the Prince de Condé, who wished to detach him from them. His heart was ulcerated against them, and his distrust was the reason why Madame Chevreuse could only carry back to the coadjutor distant hopes of the hat he longed for. The vexation this caused him increased his hatred against Cardinal Mazarin, and he acted that the cardinal gained still greater advantage over him. All these things together had the effect that the Keeper of the Seals, Châteauneuf, whom the minister had always regarded as his enemy withdrew from the cardinal's intimacy, — all the more because the late good relations he had had with him served for nothing,

The coadjutor, to neglect no means, and, possibly, through an equitable repentance for the past, offered, in case the cardinal feared him, to go to Rome, where, receiving his hat, he would interfere no further. But all these fine and laudal

professions could not induce the cardinal to do well by him, and his misfortune would have it that he dared not do him evil by listening to the proposal of Châteauneuf, who in this affair appeared to be sincere.

If there were then some favourable moments for the minister he was unfortunate in not recognizing them, and very excusable. Having, up to this time, been always ill-treated by the *frondeurs*, he could only regard them as persons who would never be his friends. If the cardinal could then have hoped for true friendship from the Prince de Condé and some docility in his behaviour, he would have preferred a reconciliation with him to all things else, so weary was he of the *frondeurs*. Shortly before his return he had been hung in effigy in all the open squares of Paris, with infamous verses attached to him; it had been necessary for the lieutenant of the criminal police to remove these gibbets publicly. The cardinal had attributed such insults to his good friends the *frondeurs*; but the truth is there was some foundation for the belief that the princes' party had more to do with them than the others.

The queen retained the Duc d'Orléans with her at Fontainebleau as long as she possibly could, and let him go at last, fairly content, only one day before she herself returned to Paris, which was on the 15th of November. She seemed to us much changed by her illness. She was feeble and sad. On her arrival the whole Court received her at the Palais-Royal, the Fronde being all there, in the mass and in detail. The Duc de Beaufort, who, I was told, had some fear of arrest, came with the others to pay his respects. The queen received him coldly. He did the same to the minister. The coadjutor also came to make his bow to their Majesties, and the queen made him strong reproaches for his conduct.

About this time news was received of the death of the prince of Orange, who had the honour to be son-in-law of the queen of England. This loss renewed the griefs of that afflicted queen. She wept in my presence and seemed much distressed. He was a young and great captain, having given all Europe proofs of his valour, his capacity, and good conduct. From her apartments I went to the queen, whom I found, as she told me, more ill and depressed than usual. The death of this prince, whom she regretted, had filled her mind with the memory of her own griefs; and the misfortunes of the Queen of England surpassing hers, I agreed with her that our century had furnished more subjects of meditation on human misery than occasions, always dangerous, to lose our souls through joy and diversions.

Two days after the queen's return she took medicine to endeavour to end her illness. That remedy having greatly increased her, the following night she was much worse. The fever came back violently, and continued, with paroxysms. Until the eleventh day of her illness she was dangerously ill; that many persons went through hope and fear, according to the diverse passions and diverse interests of each.

The princes arrived in Havre on the 25th of November, Saint-Catherine's day. They started on the 15th and travelled slowly, on account of the troops who escorted them.¹

¹ While they were being transferred the Prince de Condé made in the marriage the following couplet on the Comte d'Harcourt, who conducted the prisoners from Marcoussis to Havre: —

“Cet homme gros et court,
Si connu dans l'histoire;
Ce grand Comte d'Harcourt
Tout couronné de gloire,
Qui secourut Casal, qui reprit Turin,
Est maintenant
Est maintenant
Recors de Jules Mazarin.”

That nickname of “recors de Mazarin” — turnkey of Mazarin — went round of all Paris. — FR. ED.

They hoped to have been rescued on the way ; in fact, the Prince de Condé made an attempt to escape while at an inn. But de Bar watched them so closely that the thing was impossible. He complained of de Bar's attendance and severity, and conceived a great hatred to him. It was a keen grief to the Prince de Condé to see himself in the hands and under the rule of the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, his enemy, and a great mortification to the Duc de Longueville to be brought in this way through the land of his own government.

The Duchesse d'Aiguillon, on her side, was not sorry. She told her friend, the Marquise de Sablé, rolling her eyes to heaven and seeming to be touched by their misfortune, that now that these poor princes were in Havre, she had forgotten all the hatred she ought to feel to them ; that it now seemed as if they had become her children, and that, truly, she was resolved in her heart, as soon as the general peace was made, to serve them well. The marquise, who was attached to the princes, replied that she was putting it off rather far, and that such charitable and Christian sentiments as hers should have a more prompt execution. This lady, whose penetrating mind could sound the folds within folds of the human heart, scoffed with me at this affected kindness, — very contrary, as she believed, to Madame d'Aiguillon's true sentiments. Perhaps she was mistaken ; Madame d'Aiguillon seemed to have piety.

The fame of the Prince de Condé impressed all minds with such peculiar veneration for his person that the chamber in which he had lived at Vincennes was visited with curiosity and respect by many persons. Mademoiselle de Scudéry, whose fine works have been celebrated in our day, went with the rest. Seeing some carnations in a pot which the prince had taken pleasure in cultivating and watering on a

place where he went to amuse himself, she wrote verses out them on the walls of the chamber, or the terrace, where they grew.

The queen began to be a little better after the fourteenth day of her illness, and this amendment gave the cardinal the opportunity to think of improving the affairs of the king, which were in a bad state on the frontier. Without losing time he started from Paris on the 1st of December, to go to the army; all the troops who were at Bordeaux having reinforced the army in Champagne, the latter was now a force of nearly twenty thousand men.

Much discussion was had as to this departure of the minister. Some people believed he was not sorry to get away from the queen during her illness, because, if he lost her, it would be lucky for him to be out of Paris, where his life, in that case, would not be safe. But the queen was no longer in danger when he left her, and the plan for this journey was made before they went to Guienne. The queen did me the honour to tell me, some days after his departure, that on quitting her he had said he left her without apprehension though many persons warned him he ought to fear that in his absence his enemies would do him ill-turns with her; which she had replied that she was very glad this occasion presented itself, by which she might prove to him the security he ought to feel in her good-will.

On the 2d of December the news came of the death at Matillon of the Princesse de Condé, mother of the princes; and people did not fail to say that pain and sorrow had deprived her of life. She was still of an age to hope for a long succession of years; she seemed in good health, her beauty continued, and we may really believe that the bitterness of this fall contributed much to her end. She was, as I think have already said, rather too haughty, hating her enemies

too much and being unable to pardon them. God wished, no doubt, to humiliate her before her death, to teach her His mercies and make her die in a Christian manner. Without His help she would have felt with great impatience, in accordance with her temperament, the pain of seeing herself exiled, her children in prison, and her enemies triumphant. But God changed her feelings into virtuous dispositions. She seemed to accept her troubles willingly, in order to share by this cross in that of our Saviour.

She sent the Abbé de Roquette to the queen to assure her that she died her very humble servant, although her death was caused by the distress she had had in the persecution of herself and her children. She conjured her by the blood of Jesus Christ to make some reflections on her death, and to remember that no one was exempt from the blows of fortune. The queen was then ill. She pitied the fate of the princess, and received her message with the respect a Christian ought to feel for the words of a dying woman who spoke in the name of the Master of them both. But she was so occupied with her own troubles and so depressed by her illness, that she thought only of pitying herself. I was alone with her, by her bedside, when the abbé came to bring her this sad message. She said little in reply. But from the grief I saw in her eyes I am persuaded she thought much and made many reflections.

The Duchesse d'Orléans and Mademoiselle were not much afflicted by this death ; but at least it put an end to their ill-will. Madame was under the influence of her brother, the Duc de Lorraine, whom Madame de Longueville had lately won over to her cause, and seeing no longer the Princesse de Condé, whose haughtiness had always pained her, she became quite disposed to enter strongly into the interests of the Prince de Condé. She redoubled her counsels to her

usband, and Mademoiselle was of the same mind ; but the influence of both on behalf of the prince was secondary.

I cannot end what I have said on the death of the Princesse de Condé without relating a thing that Madame de Brienne told me about her which is worthy of remembrance. After Madame de Brienne returned from the journey to Bordeaux, on which, as I have said, she was the queen's attendant, serving her faithfully, she went to see the Princesse de Condé, whose relation she had the honour to be, and who had always especially loved her. She found her very ill ; and when she was in the agonies of death, she turned to her and said, holding her by the hand : " My dear friend, send word to that poor miserable woman at Stenay " (meaning her daughter, Madame de Longueville) " the state in which you see me, that she may learn to die."

Those fine words had their effect. Madame de Longueville, in the end, undeceived through her own misfortunes, and made aware of the falseness of earthly grandeur, let all Europe see, by the severity of a stern repentance, that she chose to prefer an austere life and a good death to a life of earthly enjoyment.

The Princesse de Condé was always much concerned about the loves of herself and others. I heard her say one day, when she was joking with the queen about her latest adventures, speaking of Cardinal Pamphili who had lately been made pope, that she wished her old friend Cardinal Bentivoglio had been elected instead, so that she might boast of lovers of all conditions, popes, kings, cardinals, princes, dukes, marshals of France, and even noblemen. As she had never had much affection for the Prince

de Condé, her husband, people admired, after she became widow, her good fortune, her wealth and power. But from that time troubles overwhelmed her. Her children,

the interest nearest to her heart, caused her great distress, and their fall killed her.

After her death, the Princesse de Condé, her daughter-in-law, was the one in whose name the friends of the princes worked for their liberty. On the day appointed to deliberate on the request she had already presented, the Chambers assembled. The matter was postponed till the 14th of December, when the time for discussion was spent in disputes between the *frondeurs* and the partisans of the princes, and in outcries against Cardinal Mazarin. They all vomited insults upon him. Nearly all of them treated him as the disturber of the public peace, and it was finally concluded to request the Duc d'Orléans to be present at their deliberations. Thus the matter was again postponed.

The next day parliament sent deputies to the Duc d'Orléans to request his presence at their deliberations, though they resolved at the same time to continue their sessions. The Duc d'Orléans, who, as regarded the Prince de Condé, was of much the same mind as the queen, namely, to prevent the Princesse de Condé's petition from being too favourably received, replied openly that he could not go unless he was received with different behaviour from that which they had shown on the preceding days, when each individual was master, and the disorder was such that he himself could not obtain a hearing; he said also that what they were now doing would never get the princes out of prison; that he should not advise the queen to grant it; that she had sent them to Havre for good reasons, and that he himself had counselled her to do so.

He said this to put a stop to the stir in parliament which was rising in favour of the princes; but, for all that, he had often said that he blamed the queen for sending them to that place without speaking of it positively to him.

On the same day the news arrived of the defeat of the enemy by Lord Digby, an Englishman, who at that time commanded our troops; and I saw a flag brought to the queen which she valued more than the finest diamond in the world. She received another, soon after, of far more importance. A courier arrived from the minister informing her of the taking of Bethel, which had been captured by the king's army in two or three days without investment.

The cardinal could share with Maréchal Du Plessis a great part of the glory that was due to that general, through the care he took to put the army in a condition to make conquests. Here was a man, rebuked by a decree of parliament and hung in effigy, who, in spite of public hatred, maintained his grandeur. To his quality as prime minister he now added that of conqueror at the head of twenty thousand men, taking towns without apparently caring for the insults of his enemies. Seeing that he was hated by the grandees of the kingdom, and by the people, he tried to preserve for himself the good-will of the soldiery. His principle was to go to the army as often as he could, and always to carry money to it; taking care to provide the soldiers with all their little necessities. This year, he had taken them warm jackets to protect them from the cold, which was now great. He always kept three or four tables where he received the officers, in order to win them to himself by good cheer; and he showed himself kinder and more affable than he ever was in the queen's cabinet, where as a usual thing he was inaccessible to every one.

The queen received the news of our successes with joy; she was enchanted to find her desires accomplished; it seemed to her that God, by this defeat, wished to confound the persecutors of her minister, honouring by so favourable a success the man whom they did wrong to despise, and whom

they hated without knowing why. On the arrival of the news I went to the queen, who was in bed, to express the part I took in her contentment. I found her full of gratitude to Heaven. After adoring divine providence, she placed her hand in mine and said: "Let us pray to God, and spend our time on nothing else than thanking Him for all His goodness; it is He who helps me."

The cardinal was warned on the frontier of what was passing in parliament in favour of the princes, but he did not know that a secret negotiation was going on between the *frondeurs*, the princess-palatine, and the princes. The public excitement, strong as it was, did not astonish him. Some of his friends, seeing the clamour against him in Paris, advised him not to return; but he, ignorant of this new and secret combination, paid no heed to their counsel, but resolved to return to Paris. He spent a few days only at Amiens to know the result of the deliberation in parliament.

This deliberation took place on the 17th, the very day that the news of the victory was received. The Princesse de Condé's petition was presented by Des Landes-Payen. Many were of opinion that representations should be made to the queen, humbly entreating her to set the princes at liberty, and to send away Cardinal Mazarin as the disturber of the public peace. But, the hour striking before the counsellors had all given their opinion, the assembly broke up and adjourned to another day. On this occasion, a member named Menardeau, one of the cardinal's friends and a servant of the king, said that princes of the blood were as children of the royal family, and that a father could correct his children without any one gainsaying it; that parliament was infringing on the rights of the royal authority; that it had no jurisdiction over the action of kings; that it had no right

that of exception; that is to say, among the many things that kings might demand of parliament, parliament had the right to except any which might oppress the people. But a worthy man was hissed and laughed at by the whole company as if he had uttered follies.

At the close of this session parliament was invited by the king to be present at Notre-Dame for the *Te Deum* which was to be sung that day to render thanks to God for the victory. The cardinal had sent the spoils of the enemy to decorate the church. But this glory only increased the wrath of those who fomented disorder, rather than lessened it.

There are diseases in which the best remedies turn to poison for those who take them, because their humours are in a bad state.

On the 29th of December, this celebrated deliberation in favour of the princes came to an end. I shall not relate the opinions on both sides; so much repetition would be wearisome even to myself. The conclusion was that representations should be made to the queen on the imprisonment of the princes, and that she should be very humbly entreated to set them at liberty, inasmuch as they were not accused of any crime. The king's lawyers were charged with asking an audience of the queen at which to be heard. They did so, and she put them off until some day after she should feel better in health.

The minister was not named in this decision; the friends of the princes having so desired it, because the cardinal, seeing that luck was turning to their side, with the shrewd, deceitful policy he always practised when he found himself embarrassed, had sent them great hopes of his giving them satisfaction, and he even expressed his intention to return to Paris to complete a reconciliation with them. On the 31st

December we saw him arrive, very well received by the

queen, and also by the people who collected in the streets to see him pass.

January 4, the Duc d'Orléans came to see the cardinal. The prince on that day was rather better disposed to him through certain underhand efforts the cardinal was making to regain him. They were a long time together in private conversation, and every one thought that all these divisions were being healed. But the truth is, nothing passed but reproaches from one side to the other, and much self-justification on the part of the minister, which the Duc d'Orléans received very gravely. The duke was so great himself, and at this time so considered, that we may almost say that he was as absolute in France as if he had been the king. God had given him intelligence and reason, and all these things together might have established him in as stable and permanent a happiness as any man could ever have. But, acting always by the sentiments of others without taking counsel of himself, he subordinated his interests, his thoughts, and his judgment to the passions of those whose advice he believed in. He had made himself solicitor of the hat for the Abbé de La Rivière, and up to the last moment had followed well-nigh entirely the will of that favourite. He was doing the same thing now with the coadjutor, who for the purpose of being cardinal was corrupting the mind of the prince, and expecting to force his own ends through the persecution the minister was made to suffer from him.

The Duc d'Orléans, by letting himself be led so easily, deprived himself of all the advantages he might legitimately have claimed; and one cannot help being amazed at his blindness. He had none but daughters. The eldest, whom he had by his first wife, Mademoiselle de Montpensier, was many years older than the king. The queen rather feared her touchy temper if anything displeased her. But there

other daughters by his second marriage; and the eldest of these princesses was beautiful and very near the age of the king. This alliance would have suited all parties; or at least it was very suitable, and the Duc d'Orléans ought to have employed all means to bring it about. The queen, naturally, could not have inclined to it, for she wanted her son to marry her niece, the Infanta of Spain. But as she might have hoped that the Duc d'Orléans, becoming the brother-in-law of the king, would have no other interests than his own, and would in that case have separated himself from all the factions that disturbed the State, she would doubtless have consented willingly; for reason had always much power over her will.

The minister might also have made some difficulties in agreeing to a thing of such consequence as the king's marriage, which time might make him the master, and from which he could hope to draw immense advantages for the kingdom and for himself. But past and present conjunctures were so favourable to the Duc d'Orléans that if he had chosen to profit by them he could have reduced the minister to serve him in this great matter had he given him entire assurance of his good-will, which he could do only by separating himself completely from those who were opposed to him.

A lady, Mademoiselle de Neuillant, maid-of-honour to the queen, who was in the confidence of the cardinal, has since told me that, a few days after the Duc d'Orléans declared openly against the minister and in favour of the princes, she had an order from the cardinal to offer the king as a husband to Mademoiselle, provided she would prevent the Duc d'Orléans her father from joining himself to the Prince de Condé; that the princess answered, laughing at her, that they all meant to keep their word to the Prince de Condé. She, who was surprised at these words, so lightly said, re-

plied: "Mademoiselle, make yourself queen; and when you have done that, you can release the princes."

The advice was good; but it was not followed, not only because of the difficulties it encountered on the side of the Duc d'Orléans, who, as I have said, never thought of doing any good to himself, but also because Mademoiselle, with much intelligence, ideas, capacity, and great desires for the closed crown, never knew how to say a yes to her own advantage. Her own sentiments and wishes were always superseded within her by passing fancies; and what she most wanted she did not accept when she might have had it.

On the 5th of January, the Duc d'Orléans, who had as yet no fixed determination, went again to see the cardinal and remained shut up with him for four hours. He told him he wished to forget forever what had displeased him, and that his purpose was to live with him as before. The minister, inspired by the hope of bringing him back to his interests, pressed him strongly to abandon the coadjutor and the Duc de Beaufort; but he could not win him to consent; they had taken too strong root in his soul to be pulled out so easily. To succeed in bringing him to do so great a stroke he had to be goaded by some special desire, and he had none. The cardinal was therefore fain to be content with good appearances.

This moment was the one which decided the future of prince and minister; for, from that day, many things happened to separate them completely. We must, therefore, conclude here that it was a great misfortune for a man of such birth not to conduct himself, at least sometimes, according to his own lights, which he was capable of having, for nothing was lacking in him but the application, necessary in every man of good sense, to think of what he does, why

he does it, and how much it conduces to his fame. But in order to act in all things with uprightness, towards ourselves and towards others, we must possess ourselves, and know how to separate good from evil.

It was the Marquis de Senneterre who told me the details of the above conversation, which, from not having been carried farther produced no solid effects. He made me observe what the Duc d'Orléans, with these advantages, might have done. For, by entering into real relations with the minister, the sovereign power would have given him the means of satisfying the ambition of those he would not abandon, depriving them only, as was reasonable, of a confidence which, as he saw himself, they used badly. That evening the queen, pressing my hand, said: "We are about to see strange revolutions, madame."

The cardinal, however, invited the Duc d'Orléans to sup with the king in his apartments on the eve of the Epiphany. The prince accepted and the supper passed off with a good deal of freedom and license. The Duc d'Orléans himself, heated with wine, gave occasion, by something he said, to a jest against the *frondeurs*. The Chevalier de Guise continued it; and exciting himself in good earnest, he began to sing songs that were current against the Duc de Beaufort, saying boldly that the coadjutor ought to be flung out the window. And he would have done it willingly, knowing him to be the enemy of the Prince de Condé, whose friend he was. He added, in drinking the health of the queen, who was ill of her troubles, that she needed that remedy to cure her.

The king was still too young to bear the racket of these libertine songs. By advice of the cardinal he left the table, leaving behind him the Duc d'Orléans and the others, who then burst out into greater gaiety. The minister did not

wish to remain and take part in the ridicule turned against his enemies; but what was taking place did not displease him; it was discretion alone which made him retire with the king to another room. The queen related to us the next day the speech of the Chevalier de Guise, who was famed and considered illustrious. The state of things was such that this trivial action, produced by accident and the enthusiasm of gaiety, was made of importance, and the Chevalier de Guise was praised for it as if he had done the most heroic thing in the world. But though it gave delight to the queen, it proved to be one of the things which afterwards increased her troubles.

The *frondeurs*, seeing this open demonstration made against them, thought they ought to hasten the destruction of the minister; and the Duc d'Orléans, not having really abandoned them, these questionable demonstrations in favour of the minister ceased immediately. There existed a written agreement between the queen and the Duc d'Orléans, in which they reciprocally promised each other not to set the Prince de Condé at liberty without the consent of both. This promise did not tranquillize the duke. He saw that he was annoying the cardinal enough to make the latter incline to a reconciliation with the princes; he knew that the cardinal was even then beginning to favour them; and his present counsellors, in order to spur him to greater hatred of the minister, assured him that preparations were being made to open the gates of Havre for them.

The Duc d'Orléans, thus estranged from the cardinal by fancies and distrusts that had slipped into his soul against him, urged by the *frondeurs* (who themselves were negotiating secretly with the Prince de Condé's friends) and by the fear of losing the credit of serving the latter, finally allowed himself to be led whither the enemies of the cardinal

1875

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1886



FRANÇOIS VI
*Duc de la Rochefoucault,
Pair de France.*
Né le 15 Décembre 1613. Mort le 17 Mars 1680.

wished, and, little by little, began to work himself for the release of the Prince de Condé, whom he respected the more on seeing that parliament was beginning to enter strongly into his interests.

The Duc de La Rochefoucauld, seeing on his side the good intentions of parliament, and never having had any esteem or regard for the *frondeurs*, tried to persuade the minister to set the princes at liberty, and thus gain for himself the sole credit of doing them this service. He was then in Paris, hiding in the house of the princess-palatine, where, without the knowledge of the Duc de Beaufort, Madame de Chevreuse, and the coadjutor, he was told all the propositions that they were negotiating. When he saw their affairs likely to come to a fortunate result, he wished that it might be Cardinal Mazarin who should do the final deed. The way of the *frondeurs* did not please him; that of the Court would have been very agreeable to him. He imagined, with reason, that by renewing peace and union between the Prince de Condé and the minister, he should himself obtain some high reward; and he saw with pleasure that in this instance his interests and his duty went together. He therefore let the minister know that he wanted to see him, and asked for a safeguard for his person written by the cardinal's own hand, which he obtained easily, the latter being entirely faithful to him. Bartet, a creature of the cardinal just so far as it suited him to appear so, and who was mixed up in many intrigues, as much those of the princess-palatine as of others, took the Duc de La Rochefoucauld frequently to negotiate with the cardinal. He entered his apartment in the Palais-Royal by a small hidden staircase; the minister, alone, with a candle in his hand, opened the door to him.

I have heard the Duc de La Rochefoucauld say that the

cardinal coming alone to the door he could easily have killed him; and he often admired his confidence under the risk he ran in giving himself wholly into the power of the best friend the Prince de Condé and Madame de Longueville then had. The minister, on the other hand, might have had the duke arrested; but, faithfulness being equal on both sides, the Duc de La Rochefoucauld neglected nothing that could induce the minister to turn to the Prince de Condé. He told him repeatedly, without, however, revealing to him the depths of the mystery, that he would soon see a great persecution burst forth against him. He said all he could to make him feel he had something to fear. But the minister, who knew nothing of the alliance of the prince's friends with the *frondeurs*, who feared the Prince de Condé's daring, Madame de Longueville's intriguing, and the ambition of this very Duc de La Rochefoucauld, would not listen to his warning or give him any positive promise. All these conferences being of no effect the Duc de La Rochefoucauld resolved to let the negotiations go on, and allow the princess-palatine to complete her work with the Duc de Nemours, who was doing his utmost for the Prince de Condé.

The princess-palatine, on her side, did as much as the Duc de La Rochefoucauld on his. She advised the Prince de Condé to make terms with the Court rather than with the *frondeurs*. After placing all her batteries, she too had the cardinal warned, through Bartet, that he was lost unless he resolved to set the princes at liberty; assuring him that unless he did it promptly he would see within a few days the whole Court and all the cabals in league against him, and that assistance of any kind could not reach him.

These threats and prophecies thus certified astonished him a little, and made him doubtful as to what he should do; but he could not resolve to open the prison doors to his

enemy. He temporized, to escape being duped; he went to work to discover the source of these threats, and see by what means he could foil these intrigues. Beginning to take precautions, he sent to beg the princess-palatine to postpone for a time the evil with which she threatened him, in order that he might think over what he could do. She gave him as much time, she told me, as she could without neglecting her other negotiations. But, at last, seeing that the minister was only tricking her, and that she could no longer delay the accomplishment of things she had begun with such success, she signed four private treaties with those she had won over to the interests of the princes.

The first was with the Duc d'Orléans; in which the marriage of the Duc d'Enghien to one of his daughters was pledged. He, who chose never to have great interests, now had one, which it was reasonable he should have, but which ought not to have bound him to anything extraordinary. He was advised to think favourably of it by those who had power over him, and who believed that this tie would render the friendship of himself and the Prince de Condé strong and more lasting. As this alliance was lightly promised, so it was lightly broken, and the Prince de Condé never valued it. The second was with Madame de Chevreuse, for the marriage of the Prince de Conti with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, which had no better result. A third promised the coadjutor the hat, which he did not obtain by that means. And the fourth was with the Keeper of the Seals, Châteauneuf, to make him prime minister. This last treaty was secretly signed; because of the office Châteauneuf already occupied he would not allow himself to be named in any way. As a result of all these negotiations, an outburst fell before long upon the minister, and he discovered only too soon that the threats made to him were founded on truth.

On the 7th, parliament sent deputies to the Duc d'Orléans, entreating him to be mediator with the queen for the release of the Prince de Condé. He replied that he would be so willingly, and that it was only necessary to know what her will was. By this conduct, it seemed as though the duke were beginning to declare himself in favour of the princes. The queen was astonished; but she persuaded herself it was not really so, because the duke had not declared himself plainly. The minister was equally deceived.

On the 1st of February, parliament assembled again, for they doubted, with some reason, the good intentions of the queen. It was not an agreeable thing for a great queen to feel herself forced by the subjects of the king her son to do what she desired not to do. And while they were searching for means to compel her to do it, fortune threw in their way one so unexpected that they had good reason to be content.

The coadjutor, thinking it was now time to declare himself openly, took this moment to make known his sentiments. He said in the Chamber that the release of the princes was a benefit necessary to the State and to the public; that all must work for it unanimously; that this was his opinion, and that he had orders from the Duc d'Orléans to assure the assembly that his Royal Highness desired the same thing, and was ready to work for that purpose with all the power that his birth gave him in the kingdom. The Duc de Beaufort confirmed what the coadjutor had just said, and declared that he too desired the release of the princes.

Nearly every one was surprised by these speeches. They believed, according to what had appeared on the journey to Bordeaux, that the Duc d'Orléans was on this point of one mind with the queen, and this great change caused a universal joy throughout the Chamber. There were few in it who

were not favourable to the prisoners; and those who had not dared to be so on account of the coadjutor and the Duc de Beaufort suddenly found themselves at liberty to follow their feelings. The coadjutor went to give an account of what he had done to the Duc d'Orléans, mingling with it many praises given by public acclamation to the latter's generosity. The duke felt the joy of this. He did not examine the motives that had led him to take this resolution, — which are all that make actions good or bad, — and without looking into his heart he believed himself generous and good, and imagined that he had just done an altogether heroic action.

If the Duc d'Orléans, from a sense of virtue and by legitimate ways, being entirely united with the queen, had procured the release of the princes and the peace of the Court, as he could easily have found means to do, his conduct would have been laudable and glorious; and the queen, who would have willingly entered into the plan, would have been grateful to him. But, the truth is, the prince's course deserved no esteem, for it was plainly seen that the intrigues of the *frondeurs*, and his facility in following their advice were alone the cause of his action.

These extraordinary events astonished the minister immensely. He saw that the release of the prisoners had now become the affair of all parties, and he could not divine what was the secret spring of these great movements, nor what had had power to change so rapidly the hearts, minds, and interests of so many different cabals.

XI.

1651.

THE next day, the Duc d'Orléans went to the Palais-royal. The minister tried to speak to him against the coadjutor, and justified himself in the various matters for which the duke blamed him. During the conversation it happened that the minister, speaking of parliament, made some comparison of it with that of England, and of the *frondeurs* with Fairfax and Cromwell, but in a manner that had a very rational meaning, for which he ought not to have been blamed. The Duc d'Orléans, not knowing what to say in reply to his discourse, made a pretext of being angry at this comparison, and went abruptly out of the queen's presence. Le Tellier asked him if all the coadjutor had said in parliament in his name, in favour of the princes was true, and approved by him. The Duc d'Orléans answered haughtily that the coadjutor had spoken according to his orders and his sentiments, and that he approved of all that he had said and done. On which Cardinal Mazarin, seeing plainly that the princes must be released, sent the Maréchal de Gramont and de Lionne to treat with them. Goulas, secretary of the Duc d'Orléans' commands, went with the two others by his master's orders.

The next day the Duc d'Orléans, prompted by the coadjutor, sent to fetch Le Tellier and the Marechal de Villeroy. He ordered them to say to the queen from him that he was displeased with the cardinal, who had spoken to him insolently, and he demanded the reason why ; he also ordered

them to say to her that he desired she would dismiss him from her council, for he would never take his place there until she had done so. He told Maréchal de Villeroy, that he was responsible to him for the king's person ; and that he so ordered him in his quality as lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

The next day the duke (always until now so full of consideration for the queen), going almost to extremities, ordered the guards of the city to hold their arms in readiness for the service of the king ; forbidding them absolutely to receive any orders but his own. He also told the Keeper of the Seals and Le Tellier to issue no commands without communicating with him. And at the same time he sent the coadjutor to parliament to inform it of his desire that the princes be released, and to say to all that he declared himself openly against the minister.

He seized a pretext very unworthy of him to announce himself his enemy. The coadjutor stated in his name that he had quarrelled with the cardinal, because the latter had dared, in presence of the queen, to liken their assembly to the parliament of England, and had called the *frondeurs* Fairfaxes and Cromwells. The coadjutor, to make the narrative more odious, amplified it with all the words he thought most likely to anger his auditors ; and he told them also the message which the Duc d'Orléans had sent to the queen by the Maréchal de Villeroy and Le Tellier. This speech excited a furious uproar in parliament against the cardinal. Propositions were made against his life and liberty, three of which were terrible : the first, to arrest him ; the second, of which President Viole was the author, to bring him before parliament to answer for his administration, and to make reparation for what he had said against the honour of the nation. Coulon was of opinion that remonstrances

should be made to the queen, requesting his dismissal; the Assembly shouting: "Vive le roi!" and "No Mazarin!"

The same day, while journeys were being made between the Palais-Royal and the Luxembourg, the minister came to see the queen. He said aloud, in presence of every one, that he had foreseen this storm. He made a great argument on the causes of the bad condition of the Court, laying them nearly all to the unbridled ambition of the coadjutor; and said that, as for himself, he was ready to go if his absence could restore peace to France. He offered the queen to go away, and assured her that the zeal he had for her service and for the State would make him ever ready to sacrifice his life willingly to preserve them. But, at the same time, he protested that if the king and queen would not let him go he would remain constantly beside their Majesties to serve them, and spare nothing of his life or honour in order to do so.

Many of the officers of the army offered themselves to him to do whatever pleased him; and some advised him to bring troops into the city and to hold out firmly in Paris. But he dared not risk the royal family; and the queen, more interested than he in the safety of the king and Monsieur, would not enter into any of these propositions. She was struck with grief when she heard what the Duc d'Orléans had said to the Maréchal de Villeroy, and learned the character of the commands he had issued to the Guards of the city, and the provost of the merchants. She believed then she had everything to fear from this prince, who, in spite of his natural kindness, was capable of the greatest violence when he listened to evil counsels.

In this extremity she resolved to try if the power she had always had over him could not bring him back to some remains of equity towards her. She sent to tell him that she

wished to go and see him, and also that the cardinal should see him, in order that he might justify himself against the calumnies of his enemies. The Duc d'Orléans replied harshly to this civility, and advised her not to come because he could not answer for her safety. The queen sent back to say that she did not fear the people, for she knew well enough that they respected her, and that she was ready to go alone if the sight of Cardinal Mazarin should be displeasing. The duke replied to this second embassy that she had better not come, for assuredly she would not be safe. From this answer she judged that he did not choose to see her, and henceforth she relied on the confidence she had in God and on the strength of her own courage.

Le Tellier told me later that in these troublous times, when the queen saw that the State was threatened by so many storms from all quarters, she sent for him one day and said she saw plainly there was everything to fear; that the sight made her prefer the good of France, the peace of the State, and above all, the interests of the king, to all things else; that her intentions had ever been upright; that she respected the cardinal and believed him faithful, and had been convinced until now that she was bound to sustain him; that she still believed it, and that such was her own sentiment; but, fearing lest she deceived herself, she wished to ask his advice as to what she should do; and she conjured him, as a faithful subject of the king, to tell her truly what he believed she ought to do to fulfil her duty, knowing that she had to fear herself in a matter of this importance. This wise minister told me he was surprised at such a declaration, and much embarrassed; and that not really knowing himself what ought to be done, or what was best to do, he advised the queen to follow her first sentiments, believing them the right ones.

We can see by this that the queen, while sustaining her minister with so much constancy, had not done so without herself examining, with the help of those she thought honourable and faithful men, the motives which made her act, nor without consulting her duty, which appears, by this conversation, to have been the inward guide of her firmness and her actions. I do not know if Le Tellier, who may have been full of a desire to keep her favour, did not make his reply out of fear of displeasing the cardinal. In this confidence which he made me of so great an affair I fancied I perceived he had been shaken, but that, not daring to hope so great a change could be made so easily, he felt himself bound to risk nothing. He doubted and was afraid that the queen, if his advice did not turn to good, would reveal it to the cardinal. He owned to me sincerely that all these fears having come into his mind, he thought of warning the latter, but that finally, having done his exact duty and what he considered for the best, he kept the queen's secret and the cardinal never knew of it.

The Duc d'Orléans, wishing to complete his work, went to parliament very early in the morning of February 4th, intending to issue a decree against Cardinal Mazarin. He was accompanied by the Ducs de Beaufort, de Joyeuse, de Retz, the coadjutor, and many of the *grandees* of the kingdom who have seats in parliament. He spoke long and well. On such occasions the prince always showed that he had knowledge and intelligence, and that his youth had been usefully employed. He informed the assembly of his grounds of complaint against the cardinal. He exaggerated the calumnies he had uttered against their illustrious body, and confirmed all that the coadjutor had said in his name, in favour of the princes. He declared that he had never of his own will consented to their imprisonment, but only to please the

queen, who, by the evil advice of her minister, desired to arrest them. He said that the minister was blamable in every way, and that, seeing the State ruined and the finances ill-managed, he had come to the resolution of no longer following the wishes of the queen; that he had always had much deference and respect for her, and should continue to have the same sentiments, but he had sent her word that he could no longer go to the council until she had dismissed the cardinal; and that, having taken that resolution, he now came to ask their opinion as to what he should do.

This declaration pleased the whole assembly, which had long been disaffected, and had taken the cardinal as the butt of its ill-humour. The two cabals were now united, and they composed a large body of men who were all in the mood to *fronder*.

Meantime the queen was employed at the Palais-Royal in the same way; that is to say, she wished to break up the Assembly and complain in her turn. She sent Rhodes, grand master of ceremonies, to parliament, to summon it to come to the Palais-Royal and see the king. The chief-president, hearing of the queen's intention, tried to close the session, but the Duc d'Orléans had this voted on, and it was decided to remain in session until the chief-president and those who were to go with him to learn the wishes of the queen should return. The queen received them in her little gallery, in presence of every one, dressed as an invalid and in her night-cap. The minister stood beside her chair, and the Keeper of the Seals near him. The latter spoke for a long time, and, as usual, very badly. He justified, by order of the queen, the conversation of Cardinal Mazarin with the Duc d'Orléans. Du Plessis Guénégaud, secretary of State, read aloud an account of the conversation written by the cardinal himself, in which he flatly denied having said anything

gainst the parliament, letting it be understood that he intended to blame no one but the coadjutor.

The queen herself spoke for a quarter of an hour, with good sense and gravely. She complained of the factious spirit of the coadjutor, which had caused her to lose the friendship of the Duc d'Orléans, who had been dear to her at all times. She told them she had more desire than he to release the princes, promising to endeavour constantly to do so, and showed how much she resented the disdain of the Duc d'Orléans in not receiving her visit. The chief-president, who desired to serve the princes without the iniquitous meddling of the Fronde, invited and urged the queen to give more explicit assurances of their release; but she, without explaining further, answered that she had sufficiently made known her intentions, and that she could not say anything more.

The chief-president, returning to parliament, which awaited him fully assembled, rendered an account of what the queen had said. And the Comte de Brienne, secretary of State, who accompanied him by the queen's order, said to all, in presence of the Duc d'Orléans, that the queen felt great regret that factious and mischief-making spirits had caused her to lose Monsieur's friendship; but though he had already refused the offer she made to visit him in spite of her illness and debility, she wished it said to him, in presence of the Assembly, that she was still ready to go to see him to show him that she desired nothing so much as to remove the complaints he made of her. The president then related the statement read before him touching the conversation of the cardinal with the Duc d'Orléans, which was received with contempt and treated with ridicule. The president urged the Duc d'Orléans to see the queen, but the prince, to get rid of the matter, answered that he wished

the Assembly to vote upon it, not thinking it right to follow his own feelings in a matter of such consequence.

The chief-president, without being perturbed, said that the queen had assured him she was about to send an order to Havre for the release of the prisoners. On which the Duc d'Orléans spoke out loudly, saying it was false. After these disputes, and much wrangling about the votes, which were all against the cardinal, it was finally decreed that the queen should be very humbly entreated to make a declaration of the innocence of the princes and to release them; also that she should be very humbly entreated to dismiss Cardinal Mazarin from her council, inasmuch as the Duc d'Orléans, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, could not and would not be present so long as the cardinal was there.

The queen that very morning did me the honour to tell me, speaking of these things, that she was resolved to hold out, and not release the princes without their friendship; that she meant to scorn all these decrees, for, having the keys of Havre, no one could force her to open the prison doors. Champlâtreux, son of the chief-president, went the same day to tell the cardinal that if he would send at once the order to release the prisoners, his father and his friends still hoped to save him; but that if this were not done there was no hope for him. Arnauld, a great confidant of the Prince de Condé, and one of my friends, came to tell me, in order that I might make it known to the queen, that if the order were sent that day perhaps the Prince de Condé would feel under obligations for it. This "perhaps" displeased the queen, to whom I repeated it; and she was so much offended that she commanded me to tell Arnauld that I had not been able to speak to her on the subject.

The next day the Duc d'Orléans sent word to the Duc d'Épernon and the Maréchal de Schomberg, the one a

colonel of infantry, the other colonel of the Swiss guards, that, he being lieutenant-general of the kingdom, they were to receive from him all orders relating to their commands. They answered that they knew the respect they owed him; but that, the king being present, they thought they ought to belong to him only. The other dukes and marshals of France answered in the same way, and seemed not willing to depart from their true duty. The Duc de Mercœur was so passionately on the side of the minister that he sent a challenge to his brother, the Duc de Beaufort, to fight a duel with him; but it came to nothing, and he did not follow up his first intention.

The Keeper of the Seals, Châteauneuf, and the Maréchal de Villeroy were all this while secretly negotiating for the king of the cardinal, accompanied by Le Tellier, who had not the same intentions, although, acting always with integrity, he let it be known that he did not admire the cardinal in all things. Many trips were made to the Luxembourg by these three mediators, under orders from the queen, to endeavour to find means of appeasing matters. The dismissal of the minister was agreeable to the first two. They found, as they wished, that the Duc d'Orléans was resolved to hold out on that point; consequently their efforts brought no remedy, because that point was the one which chiefly attacked the royal authority.

These self-interested ambassadors, relations, and friends, filled with the same desire, might have been sorry to find any remedy on this point; but they were men who loved the State in their own way, and who would not, for the sole purpose of seeing their private passions satisfied, have done anything to lessen the sovereign power. But they wished to get rid of the cardinal in order to fill his place. The Keeper of the Seals arranged with the Duc d'Orléans and the friends

of the princes a secret treaty, advantageous to the Court, in which the coadjutor had no part. In fact, the ruin of the latter was resolved among them, though without the knowledge or participation of the Duc d'Orléans. The friends of the princes, delighted to be able to hope for the ruin of that leader of the Fronde, whom they did not like, bound themselves to make the princes sign the treaty, which was in fact useful to the State; and though in many ways it diminished the power of the Prince de Condé, they all approved it, through the pleasure they had in thinking that the Duc d'Orléans in losing the coadjutor would be without his influence.

If the queen could then have judged of this affair and its counsels without prepossession, she might have consented, although it would apparently have made her seem indifferent to her minister; for nothing was dearer to her than the good of the king and the peace of France. But all these private negotiations served for nothing, because she distrusted everything that came through the Maréchal de Villeroy, whom she suspected of an understanding with the Duc d'Orléans, now openly declared against her. Her suspicions were but too well founded.

All these tempests stunned the minister, and made him think of retiring. Many of his friends offered him once more fortified towns and troops, and those whom he had lately made marshals of France desired to serve him. Even those in the king's council who desired his dismissal spoke of means to sustain him. It was proposed to bring troops into Paris, camp them in the Palais-Royal quarter, and hold out against the Duc d'Orléans. Nothing of this kind was approved by the queen nor by her minister, for the reason which I have given, and because of the evils this resistance would have entailed.

Madame de Chevreuse, who, ever since the imprisonment of the princes, had seemed more attached to the queen, pretending to be a friend of the cardinal and to give him sound advice, now counselled him to go away for a time and allow the storm to pass. She promised the queen she would then use her utmost to reconcile her with the Duc d'Orléans; after which it would be easy to get the duke's consent to the cardinal's return. Perhaps she would have done this to please the queen, or even for the pleasure of intrigue and novelty. But before thus serving her, and in preference to any other, she desired to see the princes out of prison and the marriage of her daughter concluded. It was this that led her to urge the cardinal so charitably to go away. The duchesse d'Aiguillon gave him the same advice, hiding her want of regard for him behind the good of the State, and telling him he would win much glory by thus sacrificing himself for the public peace and the queen's relief.

The soul of the minister, agitated by so many troubles, harassed with so many subjects of fear, goaded by the various passions that worked within him, and not daring to take extreme measures, made him choose at last to go to the tower and release the prisoners himself. He took a secret order from the queen to de Bar, by which she ordered the latter to obey the cardinal absolutely. The minister may have thought that by making himself master of their prison he could hold them more securely; or else, that by opening himself their prison doors he could make his own reconciliation with them, and, counting of course the queen for much, that they would put themselves on his side. But he was misled in all, and taught that favours given under compulsion do not oblige those who receive them.

The cardinal communicated his plan to the queen. She assented, because, regarding him as a faithful minister, the

only one in her interests, and who seemed to her to desire more sincerely than others the good of the State, she could scarcely avoid consenting to his wishes. But by the way in which she spoke of them to me she let me see, though without expressing herself plainly, that she did not approve of them. She believed, moreover, that this journey would have dangerous results. In order to avoid them, she and her minister judged it would be to the king's advantage to withdraw him from Paris, and that she herself should follow him to some mutual retreat, where they could escape the betrayal of factions. The queen was convinced that, once out of this turmoil in Paris, with arms and the keys of Havre (of which place she believed herself to be still the mistress), she could remedy the evils which now seemed about to overwhelm her. But, as far as I could judge, her views were not resolutions, because she had no longer any sure foundation on which to act; and if she really did make them at that time, they never became known by action. Nevertheless, the queen was strongly suspected. In her present extremity the most extreme resolutions might well be taken.

The cardinal having resolved to depart, he came to see the queen on the evening of that day, February 6, 1651. She talked with him for a long time before every one, in the belief that this was indeed the last time that she should see him. We who were present at the conference, I as much as the others, could see no change in her countenance. Her gravity never left her. Her heart, which was no doubt stung with anger, hatred, pity, pain, and vexation, allowed none of those sentiments to be seen externally; never did I see her more tranquil than she then appeared.

The cardinal remained for the council, at which the queen's troubles were discussed, and while there, the Abbé

de Palluau, his master of chambers, came to tell him that the populace seemed much excited in the streets, and were calling out everywhere, "To arms!" As his intention was to go away that evening he at once took leave of the queen, without showing that he did so, lest he should betray to the spectators what he did not wish them to know. When he reached his apartment he put on a red cloak, took a hat with plumes, and left the Palais-Royal on foot, followed by two of his gentlemen. He went by the Porte de Richelieu, where he found some of his servants awaiting him with horses; from there he rode to Saint-Germain for the night. His first intention was to leave by the Porte de la Conférence, but he was warned that two of his servants had been killed in front of the apartment of Mademoiselle, who lodged in the Tuileries, and that rumour induced him to flee by the shortest way; for already the news of his departure was being spread, without, however, any one knowing whether he really meant to go, or what were his plans.

The cardinal then saw that the princess-palatine had told him the truth, and that he was wrong in not believing her. He wrote to her from Saint-Germain, that he wished to inform her he had gone to release the princes, and that, in accordance with this promise which he had made to her, he now requested her to keep the one she had made to him, namely, to oblige him in many ways and attach the Prince de Condé to the queen as soon as he was set at liberty. He had always told him that she was bound to serve the princes, but that, not liking the *frondeurs*, the moment she was assured of the happy issue of her negotiation with him for their release her sole desire was to enter into the interests of the queen and bind herself entirely to them. The cardinal neglected nothing to keep her on his side; offering her high rewards for the pains she was willing to take for

him, especially the office of superintendent of the household of the future queen.

The princess-palatine, by whom I was told all the details of her conduct, accepted these proposals, but she wished to be established by the queen, from whom alone she could receive the favours proportioned to her birth and grandeur. In procuring for herself good fortune she also saved the queen and gave her the means of sustaining the cardinal. This clever and adroit princess, to whom were confided all the plans of the princes, and also of the *frondeurs*, governed herself so judiciously that in the end she defeated them nearly all. She calmed, in the first place, the impetuous ardour of the *frondeurs*, and next, she stirred up a disgust for them in the mind of the Prince de Condé which changed the interests and the sentiments of all the actors in this affair.

The queen, after the departure of the cardinal, spent the rest of the evening in talking about indifferent things. She seemed the same as ever. Those who observed her, and we ourselves, were astonished, for it was impossible to attribute her calmness to insensibility. Therefore I must say to her credit, and simply to satisfy truth, that on this, as on all great occasions, we saw her take with the same equable face afflictions that would have shaken others. The next day, when I went to her I asked her, as I kissed her hand, how she felt. "You can judge for yourself," she said. Then, confiding enough in me to show me sincerely something of the sentiments of her soul, she made me enter her oratory with her and shut the door. Then, as I threw myself at her feet, she said, "What say you to the position I am in?" I replied: "I say, madame, that it is dreadful, and that you have need of the grace of God and extreme wisdom to bring yourself out of it. A minister is dragged from you by force. It is a sign

the weakening of your authority, and perhaps, if you submit to it, this violence may destroy it altogether. But, madame," I added, "pardon me if I say also, with a sole eye to your interests, that, the cardinal having, in the opinion of the wisest minds, failed in right conduct in many ways, those who are faithful to you grieve to see that you suffer for his faults, or misfortunes. And I am not sure whether a man chosen by yourself, and aloof from all these cabals which are odious to you, would not be of use to you in times like these, when you have need of counsel. Think of this, madame," I said to her. "As for me, not being capable of deciding about these things, all that I can say to your Majesty is that I am ready to serve you faithfully in whatever you command. I am wholly yours; and although the cardinal has always ill-used me, and never done me any considerable good, your Majesty may be assured that, owing all to you, I will do, for your sake only, all that I possibly can to serve you."

While I was speaking she listened with great attention. When she answered: "You are right in all you say; but it is difficult to find a disinterested man aloof from cabals and able to discern what I need. Not being able to judge for myself, I think I am obliged to defend a minister taken from me by force. I still hope that God will have pity on the king and will not abandon his innocence, or make him suffer through my misfortunes or those of the cardinal. I know, as you say, that he has defects and has committed many faults. I know also that he certainly has very good intentions for the king's service and for mine; that he has bravely conducted the king's affairs when allowed to do so; that the first five years of my regency were fortunate; that, having been betrayed by those he has served" (her Majesty here meant the Maréchal de Villeroy), "that iniquity

could not fail to be harmful to him ; and all this, it seems to me obliges me to have the more pity for him."

After these words she fell into a deep revery and remained in it for some time ; then she said : " I do not wish to speak again of this matter ; for I fear, in the state in which I am, I might show weakness. As for you," said this great princess, " I own that the cardinal has not done well by you. But I consider it very kind in you to act as you have done. It is a proof of the goodness of your heart, of which I have always had a high opinion ; and I will take upon myself to tell him that you deserve more than he has done for you." She did this, for the cardinal afterwards said so to a friend of mine. As I did nothing to help it on, but contented myself by doing right without pushing forward into his notice, he also contented himself by making me fine compliments and great promises, which were very useless to me.

All that day the queen put a good face on everything, and sat tranquilly in her circle with the princesses who came to visit her. In the evening, being in her little cabinet with her usual Court, after listening for some time to Nogent, who was entertaining the company with the frivolous stories he was accustomed to tell, the queen made me a sign to go to her, and said in a low voice, " That man seems to me to-day more ridiculous than ever." Then, after thinking a moment, she added, " I wish it were always night, for though I cannot sleep the silence and solitude please me ; in the daytime I see none but those who betray me."

When it was known in Paris that the minister had gone, that he was at Saint-Germain, and might go to Havre where the princes were, the anxiety of all parties was great. It was thought that he would double-lock the doors of their prison ; or else that he would not open them until he had absolute certainty of the friendship of the Prince de Condé

gainst the time when he might be in need of him. For this reason, all those interested in the return of the princes resolved to urge the queen to the utmost.

That same day the queen sent the Maréchal de Villeroy and the Keeper of the Seals, with Le Tellier, to beg the Duc d'Orléans to come to the council; but he, by advice of the adjutor, would not go, and excused himself by saying that he could feel no security until he first saw the princes out of Havre. The queen sent again, and wrote to him with her own hand to invite him, amazed not to see him after all she had done to satisfy him; but he was firm in his resolution, and said he would not return until he had absolute certainty both for the release of the princes and the dismissal of the cardinal, who did not seem to him banished forever.

Parliament now sent deputies to the queen, thanking her for the departure of the cardinal and imploring her to give immediate orders for the release of the princes. She replied that she was fully disposed to do so; but that she wished in the first place to consult the Duc d'Orléans on the matter, either at the Palais-Royal, the Luxembourg, or in some neutral place; not thinking it right in him to refuse to take his place in the council after what she had just done for him.

The next day, parliament having assembled and the chief-president rendering an account in presence of the Duc d'Orléans of what the queen had said, the duke replied that it was not necessary for him to go to the Palais-Royal to give her his opinion as to the release of the princes, for he had nothing to say but what he had already said, namely: that he consented to their liberty, and that his desire was to dismiss the cardinal completely from the councils of the king; that the peace of the State and his own satisfaction depended on those two points; that the queen was tricking them when she promised both, for she had only changed the



17th century

Michel le Tellier

minister's residence from the Palais-Royal to Saint-Germain; that he could govern from there as well as when he was near her; that all his creatures, and his nephew and nieces who were still at Court, must be driven away, for their presence showed plainly enough it was the queen's intention to recall him, and that she had no wish to release the princes.

A great uproar ensued. Many opinions were delivered against the cardinal; some wished a writ to be issued against him, his abettors and adherents, and all who followed him. The Duc d'Orléans opposed this, saying it was not just; that his friends were praiseworthy in standing by him, and had acted like men of honour. Others expressed a wish that his house might be sacked and he himself declared a disturber of the public peace.¹ Des Landes-Payen gave it as his opinion that cardinals should be forbidden forever from administering the affairs of the State, inasmuch as they had promised and sworn fidelity to the pope, and they could not serve two masters. There were some who went so far as the insolent tyranny of forbidding favourites in France; which bordered upon the ridiculous.

The Duc d'Orléans answered wisely, saying that they were all subjects of the king, and though he himself was so in a degree more eminent than others, he was nevertheless one of those who were bound to obey, and it was not right that subjects should give laws to their sovereigns; and he added these fine words: "Truly, it is to be wished that sovereigns should have no favourites; but we must not prevent it by force." The moderation of this prince made the members more humble; and it was decided that the king's lawyers

¹ Montglat says, "A general clamour arose and everybody talked at once. . . . None but those who spoke outrageously of the cardinal were listened to: as soon as the others opened their lips they were hissed and called 'mazarin' in derision; so that the place seemed a fair or a market rather than a senate composed of dignified magistrates." — FR. ED.

should go to the queen and make her further appeals as to the release of the prisoners and the dismissal of the cardinal.

The princes, dukes, peers, and marshals of France assembled, by order of the queen, to consult as to the means of healing these disorders. The queen, telling them the position in which she was and how she had sent away the cardinal to please the Duc d'Orléans, enlarged in gentle and courteous language on the little satisfaction she had obtained from that proceeding. She asked their counsel as to what she should do, and showed that she wished to place confidence in their fidelity. They resolved to depute some of their number to see the Duc d'Orléans and invite him to return to the council, answering, on behalf of the queen, for his bodily security; which precaution was necessary to reassure the prince, who had reason to fear that in striving for the liberty of the other princes he might lose his own.

The Duc d'Elbœuf, being spokesman, was ill-treated by the Duc d'Orléans, who silenced him with much haughtiness. Madame told him she was in despair at his belonging to the blood of the Lorraines, and spoke with great resentment of his conduct. At the end of this reprimand the Duc d'Orléans, addressing the Ducs de Vendôme and d'Épernon, told them he could not go to the Palais-Royal without taking with him the princes.

On the evening of the same day the king's lawyers came to the queen to make her the representation directed by parliament. She promised them positively that the princes should be released, and said that, inasmuch as the Duc d'Orléans would not see her, she would send the Keeper of the Seals to him to confer on the matter.

This man, Châteauneuf, who was now in the office he had so long desired of prime minister, counselled the queen (in order to prevent, so he said, the furious declarations of par-

liament) to promise the dismissal of the cardinal without hope of return. He told her that she ought to let this resolve seem to come of her own volition. She agreed, in order to deceive him; and he, in turn, deceived her. He wanted her to promise publicly not to recall her minister, knowing well that if she did so, parliament would let loose against him.

The next day the king's lawyers made their report to parliament. The Duc d'Orléans accepted the conference with the Keeper of the Seals, assuring the Assembly that in two hours all necessary points could be settled and the declaration of the innocence of the prisoners drawn up. The whole Assembly relied on the word of the Duc d'Orléans, and as the queen seemed willing to abandon the cardinal, it was unanimously decided to issue a decree against him, which ran as follows:—

“In consequence of the said declaration and will of the King and the Regent, on the fifteenth day after publication of the present edict, the said Cardinal Mazarin, his relations and foreign servants, shall vacate the kingdom of France, the lands and towns under obedience to the king: and in default of so doing, the said time being passed, there shall be special proceedings taken against them, permitting townships and all others to drive them out, without power of return for any pretext, cause, employment, or occasions whatsoever; and it is hereby forbidden, the said time having passed, that governors of provinces, mayors, and sheriffs of towns shall receive them.

Done in parliament this 9th February, 1651.”

During these disputes the friends of the princes were not easy; they feared the wiliness and ill-will of the coadjutor.

Arnauld, on that same day, came very late in the evening to beg me to speak to the queen, and tell her that the longer she delayed releasing the prisoners the more she committed the Prince de Condé with her enemies. I told her this. But as she had taken her resolution with the cardinal, nothing could change her.

The princess-palatine reassured those who belonged to the princes' party, who were very uneasy at the uncertain state in which they were. She had the promise of him [the cardinal] who appeared to be master of the princes' prison. During the time of all this negotiation she was ill in childbirth; but in spite of her delicate condition she did not cease to confer with those who needed to speak with her. The *frondeurs* in the beginning wished to push the queen to the utmost, but the princess, their friend apparently, having privately the promise of the cardinal, checked their bad intentions, and told the followers of the Prince de Condé (for whom she was truly interested) that they must use the *frondeurs* without entering into their passions, for they would be very wicked masters if they became so altogether; that the interests of the Prince de Condé were much the contrary; also that his friends must keep things in such a state that on his return he could choose the party that pleased him best, and even rule the others.

Amid all this confusion, it came to pass that the Duc d'Orléans believed that the queen was intending to leave Paris and take the king with her. Truth, which always makes itself felt, inspired him with this fear; and, according to what I have already said, it is certain that she was not suspected without reason. It is very probable that placed as she then was, she should have wished to put herself outside of the tyranny of men whom she regarded as her enemies. These very enemies, however, —

that is to say, the Keeper of the Seals, Châteauneuf, the Maréchal de Villeroy, and some of the cabal of the princes, — afterwards declared that they had on this occasion prevented the Duc d'Orléans from proceeding to extremities against her; and they did not boast of this falsely; I had some knowledge of it at the time, and I was assured that very strange propositions were being made at the Luxembourg against her.

The queen had formed the design of escaping on the night of the 9th to the 10th of February from the city where she had once enjoyed so many pleasures, where she was once so loved, and where she now tasted nothing but bitterness.¹ The Duc d'Orléans said openly that one of the chief officers of the king (supposed to be the Maréchal de Villeroy) had warned him to be on his guard, and by making known this fear publicly it was quickly impressed on the minds of others. The Parisians are easily excited under the constant fear they have of losing the presence of the king. This news gave the alarm to the whole city, and that alarm had grievous effects on the queen. The Duc d'Orléans intended to make use of this fear of the people to order the burghers take arms, for it was greatly to his interests to prevent the king from leaving Paris.

The uproar and disturbance were great; and the queen, aware of the public commotion, which she dared not allow to increase under any pretext, hastily issued orders to release the princes, and despatched La Vrillière, secretary of State,

¹ Montglat says: "There were secret meetings at the Palais-Royal of the followers of the cardinal, who had nightly conferences with the queen to oblige her to leave Paris with the king, and put herself at the head of the army, with which she could openly refuse to set the princes at liberty, maintain the cardinal, and force the Duc d'Orléans, the parliament, and the *frondeurs* to obey her." This testimony from an historian habitually correct and well-informed, shows that the suspicions of the Duc d'Orléans were not without foundation. — FR. ED.

to carry them to Havre, sending Comminges with him to congratulate the princes in her name.

This act, done at a moment when it seemed as if the queen had no liberty to do otherwise, not only could not produce any gratitude but by being done in this way, it lost all the advantages the Keeper of the Seals, as a clever man, might have obtained for the king through the treaty he had on hand, with the co-operation of the Duc d'Orléans. The Duc de La Rochefoucauld accompanied this embassy. Arnould went also, charged with the compliments of the Duc d'Orléans and Madame. President Viole went on behalf of the parliament; and Champlâtreux, son of the chief-president, made the journey voluntarily as servitor of the Prince de Condé.

The Duc d'Orléans, finding that Comminges had really started, was about to come to the queen, when he stopped short on receiving positive news that Cardinal Mazarin had gone to Havre. He imagined that he would be able to keep the princes in their prison in spite of the efforts he himself was making to obtain their release, or else that he would carry them off. This apprehension had some probability; in fact, no one has ever known what was really the cardinal's intention. For this reason, the Duc d'Orléans believed his safety depended on keeping the queen in Paris, and so far from coming to see her, his uneasiness and his persecutions were now redoubled. He sent word to the Hôtel de Ville that he had warnings from all sides that the queen was intending to depart. He commanded the burghers to take arms and guard the gates and all the roads to the Palais-Royal; they obeyed him against the express orders they had received from the queen.

The streets were at once full of armed burghers, artisans, and populace, all shouting, "To arms!" The queen was

warned that the Duc d'Orléans intended worse things than preventing her from leaving Paris, for, according to all appearances, he meant to take the king from her. She was not insensible to her troubles; it was impossible to be so on such an occasion; but she bore them with courage, and tried to remedy them in an altogether admirable manner. She sent for the officer who, in the absence of the Maréchal de Gramont, commanded the regiment of the Gardes, and ordered him to double the sentries and hold himself in readiness for whatever need she might have of him. She warned the small number of the king's followers, the Duc d'Épernon, and a few others. It is to be supposed that all would have come to her side had she needed their assistance, but we did not see them.

Those who were in the Palais-Royal came to her, for at the time the queen received this warning she was in bed, it being near midnight. Mademoiselle de Beaumont and I, who had been with her the whole day, shared her troubles and anxieties. I believe every one trembled. As for me, I know that I was in very great fear, and the most fatal things passed through my mind as not being impossible to happen; everything was to be dreaded from the violent councils of the coadjutor.

The queen alone put a good face upon the matter. She said it would be nothing; that it was only a wild excitement of the populace, which would quiet down and had no foundation. She protested to those around her that she had no desire to go away, and told every one that she would willingly promise the people to give them any assurance of this that they wished. Smiling at times, she said that having no thought of leaving Paris, this disturbance did not trouble her, and that the gates of the city should be guarded with all the severity they liked.

What the queen said to those about her had no effect, of course, upon the people, who did not hear it. The noise in the streets increased at every moment, and the horror of darkness made it the more dreadful. Mademoiselle de Beaumont and I, to know a little of what was happening, sent our lacqueys among the rioters to listen to what was being said. They reported that they had seen two squadrons of cavalry, one of which had stopped at the Croix du Trahoir, the other nearer to the Luxembourg. They told us also that burghers and populace were shouting that the king was about to be carried off and they must prevent it.

This cavalry alarmed us, and we saw that it did not please the valiant among us either. According to all appearance, it was stationed where it was with some evil design, and more for attack than defence. We learned later that in these first days the coadjutor was constantly proposing to the Duc d'Orléans to carry off the king and put the queen in a convent, his maxim being that of Machiavelli — never be a tyrant by halves. But the natural gentleness of the Duc d'Orléans restrained, no doubt, what was over-bold and brutal in the soul of the coadjutor; and the Commander de Jars told me later that his friend the Keeper of the Seals, Châteauneuf, did his duty in regard to these proposals. As a man of honour it was impossible that he should share such intentions.

The Duc d'Orléans sent De Souches to the queen to implore her to put a stop to the rumour. He informed her that he was in despair at the disturbance, and still more at the anxiety he judged she must be feeling; that he was informed on all sides that her intention was to leave Paris that night, and that he could not do less than tell the burghers to oppose it.

The queen replied to De Souches that it was his master

who had made the burghers take arms, consequently he alone could silence the people; that their fears were unfounded; that the only remedy he could now employ was to protest aloud to every one that she had never had the thought of which she was suspected; and the proof that she spoke the truth was that the king was in bed and Monsieur also, and both were sleeping quietly; that she herself was in bed; and that for better assurance and to bear testimony to the Duc d'Orléans, she wished him, De Souches, to go and see the king in his bed, being certain that the noise would not waken him.

De Souches went to the king's bedroom, and, according to the queen's command, he raised the curtain of the young monarch and watched him for some time in a deep sleep; after which he left the Palais-Royal, firmly convinced that the queen had no desire to leave Paris, and that all this persecution was stirred up against her by those who were advising his master. As he was well-intentioned, and easily led to compassion for oppressed innocence, he did all he could on his way back to the Luxembourg to pacify the Parisians. He spoke much and harangued the populace whom he found in the streets. He said to all that they ought to be quiet, for he had just seen the king asleep, and he advised them to follow their master's example, and think no more of the matter.

The people, however, said they wished to see the king for themselves. On which a number entered the Palais-Royal crying out that the king must be shown to them, for they wished to see him. The queen, hearing this, commanded that all the doors should be thrown open and the people conducted to the king's chamber. The rioters were enchanted at this frank treatment. They stood around the king's bed, the curtains of which had been opened, and,

returning once more to a spirit of affection, gave him a thousand benedictions. They looked at him sleeping for a long time and could not admire him sufficiently. The sight gave them a great respect for him; it increased their desire not to lose his presence, but they now expressed this feeling with sentiments of fidelity. Their excitement ceased, and whereas they had entered the Palais-Royal like furies, they left it full of gentleness, asking God with all their hearts to preserve their young king, whose presence had the power to charm them.¹

The queen, seeing that this remedy had succeeded, sent for two officers of the burgher guard who were placed by the people at the gates of the Palais-Royal. She spoke to them herself amiably, and told them of her intentions, feeling it safer to have them near her than either of the two great princes, who might have taken her power from her. She showed them the king; and sent them twice to speak to the people. The two men went through the streets shouting that they had spoken with the queen in her bed, that the king was asleep, and the people had nothing to fear.

These words, said by persons who could convince them, and who were of their own party, had the best effect in the world, and pacified this great disturbance. One of these officers was named Du Laurier. The queen in speaking to him called him M. Du Laurier. He replied that he had long had the honour of following the Court, and had been the servant of her maître-d'hôtel, whom he named, but whose name I forget. This reciprocal recognition made us

¹ It is said that the king, who was not asleep, took such a dislike to Paris and the Parisians from this moment, that it was the real cause of his building Versailles, removing the Court there, and never, after that removal, living again in Paris, and seldom entering it.—TR.

laugh, and we admired the cordiality with which the queen and "M. Du Laurier" talked together.

The night was far advanced and by the mercy of God and the wise conduct of the queen our fears began to disperse. We now thought of going to rest after the fatigue that the queen's troubles caused us. It was a feast-day and already three o'clock in the morning. The queen therefore proposed that we should hear mass before going to bed. We thought this appropriate; and to pass two hours before we could do so, Commander de Souvré, Mademoiselle de Beaumont, and a few others began to play cards in presence of the queen. As for me, I went to sleep lying on the queen's rug with my head against her bed, for I was tired out.

When it was time for the mass, the queen rose and put on a dressing-gown; then, to reward the two officers who had succoured her so much, she took them herself to see her oratory and the glass cases which held her relics. The men were delighted, and told the queen they should go again to their comrades and assure them that their good king and their good queen had no intention of quitting them. They afterwards told Mademoiselle de Beaumont and me, in all sincerity, that they esteemed themselves happy to be able to boast that they had been for three hours necessary to the greatest queen on earth. They spoke the truth, and their pride was just.

It can now be judged by all these things how miserable was the position of a princess so great by her birth and by the rank which she held in the kingdom. This anxiety lasted in the same manner through many nights, until it ended in a sort of imprisonment in which the king and herself were kept for more than a month, unable to leave the Palais-Royal. In all the streets of Paris there were guard-houses, and the gates were so closely watched that

no one, on foot or in a carriage could pass without being examined, nor any woman without unmasking to show that she was not the queen.

The keen alarm of the first few days gave great annoyance to her Majesty. Her imprisonment which was much greater than it appeared to be, was not agreeable to her, though she often said, laughing, that at any rate her prison was handsome and convenient, inasmuch as it was her own home and in a city where she was once too well loved to suppose she could ever come to harm within it. But when she was alone she showed that she felt this violence extremely;¹ and one evening when I was alone with her, and had asked her whether she had really intended leaving Paris on the day she was suspected of doing so, she raised her eyes to heaven and shrugging her shoulders said to me very freely: "Ah! Madame de Motteville, where am I? and where should I not be better off? In your opinion, how could I help wishing to be elsewhere?" Then, humbling herself before God, she added: "You have willed it, O Lord, and I must obey you."

This persecution went so far that the Duc d'Orléans sent to tell the queen he had continual warnings that she medi-

¹ The surveillance exercised over the queen by order of the Duc d'Orléans was excessive. Montglat says: "Monsieur was warned one day that the queen was about to escape by the river. He at once put guards along the bank, and armed men in boats, who watched the river all night. The queen was incensed with vexation at finding herself thus besieged in her capital; and that which stung her most was that the household of the king and her own were not of her sentiments, and disapproved of her leaving Paris, as prejudicial to her service. So much so that, in the distrust she felt of her own servants, she concealed her intentions from them as much as she did from the Keeper of the Seals and the Maréchal de Villeroy."

Omer Talon says that from this day (February 10) to the 7th of March, 1651, the king and queen did not issue from the Palais-Royal, where they were, he says rather jocosely, under liberal supervision, *in liberâ custodiâ* — FR. ED.

tated going away; that he implored her to remove this anxiety from his mind and give him security to the contrary; otherwise he should be constrained to take it for himself; meaning to let her know he should take the king from her; and truly it was a miracle that he did not do so. The queen answered that she could give him no greater security than her word; but that if he wanted others, she would consent, for his peace of mind, to let him send his own guards to sleep in the king's chamber.

While the queen was thus exposed to the insults offered to her, news came that the cardinal had reached Havre and had opened the prison doors to his illustrious prisoners. On arriving at that place he showed the queen's order to de Bar, of which the following are the words, written in the queen's own hand:—

“MONSIEUR DE BAR, — I write this to tell you to punctually execute all that my minister, Cardinal Mazarin, will tell you of my intentions regarding the liberty of my cousins the Princes de Condé and de Conti and the Duc de Longueville, now under your guard, without stopping for any other order which you may receive later from the king my son, or from me, contrary to this; praying God, Monsieur de Bar, that he may have you in his holy keeping.

“Written at Paris, the 6th February, 1651.”

By things which the queen did me the honour to tell me, and by many other conjectures, I think I may risk saying that the intention of the cardinal was to make himself master of Havre, hoping that de Bar would obey him; in that case, the queen was to have left Paris and foiled by so doing all the intrigues against her. But the cardinal was taken aback when he found that de Bar, who was keeping the

place for the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, would allow no one to enter it but himself and the Abbé de Palluau with him. This vexatious event changed, according to all appearances, his conduct as to the princes, and made his journey useless and ridiculous.

The queen being thus under restraint in Paris¹ and the cardinal without authority at Havre, he was simply obliged to open the prison doors of the princes. He saw, no doubt with pain, that his journey could now have no other result than that of serving, by his presence, to increase the triumph of his enemies. His action, which was not free, deserved no recognition, and everybody wondered to see that this minister, so important through the office he had held so long, should have been willing to go so far only to give liberty against his will to the princes who were there by his advice.

After failing thus with de Bar, he next desired to be the first to give the princes the good news of their release. Being prevented from taking action as a minister, he wished at least to play the part of courtier. He entered the chamber of the Prince de Condé, and told him in a soft and humble manner that he had brought him, himself, the queen's order for his release, and that of the Prince de Conti and the Duc de Longueville, which the queen gave to them without conditions, but nevertheless she begged them in return to love the State, the king, herself, and himself.

The Prince de Condé, embracing him, answered gravely that he was obliged to her Majesty for the justice she had done him; that he should always be the very good servant of the king and herself; adding, as he addressed the cardinal, "yours also, monsieur." The cardinal replied that

¹ My sister took the veil in the convent of Sainte-Marie in the rue Saint-Antoine, but the queen was unable to be present because of her imprisonment.

the doors were open and that he could leave his prison; but the prince, very sure that he could not shut them again, was in no haste to pass through them, and asked to have dinner served before they left; which was done, and they all dined together; that is to say, the three princes, the cardinal, the Maréchal de Gramont, who was the first to reach Havre, and those who attended him. The meal was as free and easy as if they had all been satisfied with one another. The comedy of the world required it. This one was fine; the actors were great and famous, and the events more real than was good for the peace of the queen.

After this repast the Prince de Condé and the cardinal had a short conversation together. The minister doubtless did his best to enter upon public affairs, and would gladly by means of this interview have regained some intimacy with the prince; but the result showed that it was barren and produced nothing good for the minister.¹ After this, the princes departed gaily out of their prison and got into the carriage of the Maréchal de Gramont, which was awaiting them in the great square of the citadel. The cardinal followed and saw them with his own eyes triumphing in the victory they had won in spite of him. He made a low bow to the Prince de Condé, who scarcely noticed it as he threw himself brusquely into the carriage and ordered the coachman to "whip up." He said this in a mocking tone with a burst of laughter, which made those present think that he went off with a strong inclination to revenge himself on the cardinal. He drove from there to sleep at Groméni, four leagues distant, at the house of one of my relatives, who made good cheer for all who came to visit him, though

¹ Montglat says: "The cardinal asked the princes for their friendship; but they, judging truly of the situation, promised him 'all that he wanted of it.'" — FR. ED.

he did not on this occasion expect so great a company. The Prince de Condé told him, laughing, that De Lyonne, who was not with them, had stayed behind in Havre to comfort the cardinal.¹

The Duc d'Orléans, knowing that the princes were at liberty, and having no longer any excuse, came to see the queen. The interview was one of coldness and displeasure. The queen showed by the expression of her face that she had difficulty in bearing it. He then went to meet those whom he considered he had delivered from prison. The princes met the body of their friends and partisans who came to meet them on the 13th of March, and arrived in Paris on the 17th. From Pontoise nothing could be seen but lines of carriages going out to join them; at Saint-Denis the crowd was so great that no one could turn round. The Duc d'Orléans met them at Saint-Denis, and the Prince de Condé, in saluting him, expressed publicly an extreme gratitude and everlasting devotion to his interests. He also embraced the coadjutor with marks of great friendship, and assured the Duc de Beaufort that he was much obliged to him.

The crowd was great in the streets of Paris to see them arrive and the people testified much joy at their return. As their captivity had caused joy, so did their release. But nothing equalled the quantity of people who were in the

¹ I knew from the Duchesse de Navailles, long after I had written these Memoirs, that her husband (whom she had married just before the cardinal started for Havre), feeling obliged to follow the minister on account of the attachment he had to him, yet unwilling to leave her, told her in confidence that he was going to help the cardinal in his design of making himself master of the prison of the princes, and that the minister hoped, by the fear he could cause as to what he might do, to remedy the bad position in which the queen was. This agrees very well with the suspicions and fears which the Duc d'Orléans, and the friends of the princes had as to this journey. (Author's Note.)

queen's rooms that evening when the princes all came together to pay their respects to her. She was in bed when the Duc d'Orléans presented them. The compliments on the part of the Prince de Condé and the two others were brief; and the queen, who had already sent to compliment them, said little.

After they had remained by her bedside a short quarter of an hour, they went to the Luxembourg, where the Duc d'Orléans gave them a great supper. The princes, before going to bed, went to visit the Duc de Nemours, who was ill, also the princess-palatine. These two personages deserved more than compliments and visits, especially the princess-palatine, whose conduct and skill in their behalf had been admirable in all its effects.

The next day the princes went to parliament to offer their thanks to that Assembly, by whom they were received with applause. The chief-president lauded the Prince de Condé extremely, and remarked upon the evils which his imprisonment had brought upon the State. The assembly was requested to bring about their formal justification, and the King's lawyers took upon themselves to solicit it.

APPENDIX.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ANNE OF AUSTRIA AND CARDINAL MAZARIN.

BY THE EDITOR OF THE FRENCH EDITION.

HISTORY, in spite of its gravity, disdains nothing that touches the private life of personages who have exerted an influence on the destiny of States. That is why it has concerned itself at various times with the nature of the relations between Mazarin and Anne of Austria. Contemporaneous memoirs — those of the Comte de Brienne, Laporte, Cardinal de Retz, etc. — speak of this relation in terms either suspicious or ambiguous. Madame de Motteville herself, on the one hand, declares it innocent, and on the other shows, by the details which she gives, how absolute was Mazarin's empire over the queen, even in matters outside of the requirements of policy.

From this conflicting testimony we can only draw deductions more or less legitimate, and not a precise and incontestable assertion.

But we find in the letters of Mazarin, published by M. Ravenel (Paris, 1836), passages which have all the more importance because the character of this correspondence is much more confidential and private. In it Mazarin constantly speaks to the queen of "his heart," tells her that he is "dying for her," etc.; in a word, expresses himself quite otherwise than as a subject, even a minister, to his sovereign.

A learned professor of the *École Normale*, M. Chéruel, has recently published (*Journal of Public Instruction*, October 11, 1851) two letters of Mazarin in which passion betrays itself by expressions that are not equivocal. They show, above all, on the cardinal's part a jealousy which public policy cannot explain;

and, taken in connection with the manner in which the all-powerful minister had the audacious Jarzé and his confidant driven from Court, they seem to throw sufficient light on the question of the attachment between Mazarin and Anne of Austria. Here are some specimens of these letters addressed to the queen. They refer to "a person" for whom she has an "affection" which tortures the cardinal:—

"I entreat you to have the goodness to forgive me if I have been bold in speaking of him, promising you not to do so again in all my life, but to suffer with patience the hell that that person makes me endure. I owe you more than this, and though I should die a thousand deaths I will not fail in the infinite obligations I am under to you; and, should I be so wicked and ungrateful as to desire to do so the friendship I have for you, which will not end even in the tomb, would prevent me. . . .

"I would I could say more to you; and if I were permitted to send you my heart, assuredly you would see things that would not displease you, and more at this moment when I am writing to you than ever before; though I see, by the letter you have written me, that you have forgotten what it pleased you to say to me with such kindness in Paris when we spoke so plainly on the subject of this same person, who has always been the sole cause of my complaints and of the displeasure you have shown to them on divers occasions. . . . I conjure you again, on my knees, to pardon me if I give you pain in opening to you my heart which can conceal nothing from you." (Written from Saint-Jean-de-Luz, November 1, 1659.)

In the second letter (November 20, same year) we read: "I recognize fully that unless the angels inspired you to write to me the kind letter that I have just received, of the 7th current, you could never have found terms so tender and advantageous to me, who desire nothing with so much passion as to be ever assured of the honour of your regard. . . . You would load me with obligations if you would have the kindness to bring some remedy to what you know gives me pain and will give it to me all my life. I conjure you by what it has pleased you to make me hope on this subject; for, assuredly, the passion and the fidelity I have for you and for the slightest of your satisfactions deserve that

you should take some thought of curing a malady which, without your assistance, will be incurable. You have had, within a few days, a fine opportunity for doing so; for several letters from the Court bring me word that the person in question has vexed you by transports that are contrary to the respect that all men owe to you, and for an affair for which there is no one who does not condemn him. I repeat to you that every one is scandalized by the proceedings of the said person, and all, knowing that he does not like me, and seeing that you have the kindness to endure the arrogance with which he conducts himself to his mistress, draw the conclusion that he has all power over you."

The letters of Anne of Austria are written in the same tone, says M. de Chéreau, — "a mixture of complaints, regrets, and tenderness veiled in enigmatical expressions." For instance, on the 30th of June, 1660, she writes to him: "Your letter has given me great joy; I do not know if I shall be fortunate enough to have you believe it. If I had supposed that a letter of mine would have pleased you so much, I would have written gladly; and it is true that to see the transports with which they are received and read, remind me strongly of a former time which I remember at almost every moment, though you may not believe it. . . . If I could show you my heart as plainly as what I write on this paper, I am certain you would be content, or you would be the most ungrateful man in the world."

We say with M. Chéreau, that such letters dispense with all comments.¹

¹ Anne of Austria was born in 1601. She was fifty-nine years old when this letter was written. Mazarin's power over her began in 1644, sixteen years before the date of it. She died six years later, in the sixty-fifth year of her age. Under all the circumstances, — namely: his undoubted control over her, a species of mental bondage which, as Madame de Motteville shows, led her on every important occasion to act against her own interests; the sixteen years this relation had lasted; and the two meanings that can obviously be placed upon the cardinal's words and her own, — the inference drawn by M. de Chéreau and the French Editor cannot fairly be called conclusive. — TR.

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